# GESTA REGUM BRITANNIÆ.

PRINTED BY G. GOUNOUILHOU,
11, rue Guiraude, Bordeaux.

Cambrian Archæological Association

# GESTA
# REGUM BRITANNIÆ

A METRICAL HISTORY OF THE BRITONS

OF THE XIII$^{th}$ CENTURY

now first printed from three manuscripts


BY FRANCISQUE-MICHEL

PHIL. DOCT.,
CORRESPONDENT OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, OF THE IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF VIENNA,
AND OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF TURIN,
OF THE SOCIETIES OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, SCOTLAND AND NORMANDY,
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,
ETC., ETC.






PRINTED
FOR THE CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

M DCCC LXII.

# INDEX.

—

# PREFACE.

---

The Poem which is here published for the first time is not altogether unknown. As far as we are aware, it was brought before the public by the Benedictine monks Doms Martene and Durand, who had seen in the abbey of Vicoigne, of the order of Prémontré, " a History of the Britons in Latin metre, compiled, as they say, incorrectly enough, by Alexander *Nuques,* and inscribed to Cadiac, bishop of Vennes [1], " at the end of which was a genealogy of the kings of France, finishing with the baptism of Philippe-Auguste.

We are not aware that from that time down to the present day, the poem has been mentioned. In the " Bibliothèque Historique de la France, " there is nothing more than a repetition, in the same words, of what was said in the " Voyage litteraire [2]. " It was not before 1837 that, in the public library of Valenciennes, the aforesaid manuscript was

[1] *Voyage litteraire de deux religieux benedictins,* etc., vol. I, 2ᵉ part, p. 213.

[2] *Bibliothèque historique de la France,* t. III, p. 399, col. 2, n° 35364. — The same may be said of the " Notices chronologiques sur les écrivains de Bretagne " (Brest, 1818, 8vo), the compiler of which, having given place to " Alexandre Nuques, " has merely transcribed Father Lelong's article. See p. 144.

discovered by M. de Gaulle [1]. It belonged to a folio collection, on vellum, of 278 leaves, written for the most part in the XIII$^{th}$ century, and containing various works relating to English history. The genealogy of the kings of France is no longer to be found there. On the author's name it affords us but the following vague information, written by a different hand : " Explicit Historia Britonum versificata, á magistro Alexandro Nequam compilata, ut credo, et scripta ad dominum Cadiocum, episcopum Venetensem [2]. " Now it ought to be *Nequam* instead of *Nuques*. But is really Alexander Neckam the author of that work? The compiler himself of the colophon doubts it, and nobody ascribes such a composition to the celebrated Neckham, author of so many other writings both in prose and in verse. The dates would not agree : Neckham died, at the latest, in 1227 [3], and Cadioc was only promoted to the episcopal see of Vannes in 1236 [4].

Another manuscript copy of the same poem is preserved in the Cottonian Library, under the press mark of Julius D.XI. That copy, which is of the XIII$^{th}$ century, bears no author's name; we have already given a fragment of it in one of our former publications [5].

Beside these, there is a third copy of the same work, also comprised in a collection of the XIII$^{th}$ century, 4$^{to}$, on vellum,

[1] *Bulletin du bibliophile*, mai 1837. — *Écho du monde savant*, juin 1839, etc.

[2] Le Glay, *Mémoire sur les bibliothèques publiques du département du Nord*, p. 175.

[3] *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. XVIII, p. 521-523.

[4] *Gallia christiana*, vol. XIV, col. 926, H, 927.

[5] *Rapports au Ministre de l'Instruction publique*, etc., in the *Collection de Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, p. 252, 253.

along with a piece of poetry in elegiac leonine verses on the taking of Troy, and another in leonine hexameters " De Contemptu mundi [1]. " This last piece is the only one mentioned by Montfaucon [2]. At the end of the poem on the Britons, which however occupies the greatest part of the volume, are written, by the same hand as the remainder of the transcript, these words : " Explicit decimus liber Gestorum regum Britannie, per manum Guillelmi dicti de Redonis, monachi. "

Those words, " per manum, " seem to point out the amanuensis rather than the author; but if this William, said to be of Rennes, is the same as the Dominican monk who composed an *Apparatus* on the Sum of Raymond of Peñafort, it is difficult to believe that such a man, otherwise of high standing, could lower himself to the humble office of an amanuensis. Let us add that the bibliographers who spoke of William of Rennes, ascribe to him, beyond his Apparatus, nothing more than writings on civil and canon law, now lost or unknown [3]. Nevertheless it would not be impossible that this jurisconsult, contemporaneous with Cadioc, might have cultivated what was at the time called poetry, as a diversion to more serious labours. Philip of Beaumanoir [4] and others did not despise

[1] Bibl. imp., fonds latin, n° 8491. Cf. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Regiæ*, vol. II, p. 464.

[2] *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, etc., vol. II, p. 751, c.

[3] Quetif and Echard, *Script. ordin. Prædic.*, vol. I, p. 130. — Fabricius, *Biblioth. lat. med. et inf. ætat.*, vol. III, p. 143; vol. V, p. 225. — *Hist. litt. de la France*, vol. XVIII, p. 403-406.

[4] On the poetical works of Philip of Beaumanoir, see a paper by Mons. Henri Bordier, in the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, ann. 1855, p. 396. Cf. *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. XX, p. 394-404.

that kind of pastime; and we have a proof that the poem on the Britons had been presented to the bishop of Vannes to divert him after the serious reading of the Holy Scriptures :

> Qui, si post sacre Scripture seria, ludi
> Presentis cursum vacuus spectaverit, et si
> Theumaque propositum consertaque verba poete
> Auctorisque stilum laudaverit, etc.

If, as it is more likely, a William of Rennes, different from the jurisconsult, was merely the transcriber of the metrical History of the Britons, we must, till we learn from another copy more about the author's name, submit to remain in ignorance about it; for it is scarcely necessary to correct the blunder of the Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Imperial Library [1], "auctore, ut videtur, Cadioto antistite," since it is obvious that, in the last verse of the poem, the name of Cadiocus, ill read, is not the name of the versifier, but that of the bishop :

> Antistes vestro vivat Cadiocus in ore.

This other verse, which belongs to the invocation,

> Hiis presul Venetensis opem conatibus addat,

proves clearly that the bishop and the author are not the same man.

The poem contains 4923 lines; it is divided into ten books, each preceded by an argument of ten lines, which gives, with a dryness nearly technical, the facts contained in the

[1] Vol. II, p. 464.

book. Those ten arguments do not need to be analysed here, as the poet has closely followed the History of the Britons by Geffrey of Monmouth; the first of them is followed by the invocation to the Muse and the exposition of the subject :

> Caliope, referas, ut te referente renarrem
> Unde genus Britonum, que nominis hujus origo,
> Unde suos habuit generosa Britannia reges,
> Quis fuit Arturus, que gesta, quis exitus ejus,
> Qualiter amisit infelix natio regnum.

Eight lines farther on, the poet enters into his subject; but he expresses in a few words what is fully developed by Geffrey of Monmouth. Thus while he says :

> Brutus ab Enea quartus, casu patricida,
> Exulat,

Geffrey says : " At length after the expiration of fifteen years, the youth accompanied his father a-hunting, and killed him unintentionally by an arrow; for, as the servants were driving up the deer towards them, Brutus, in levelling a shot at them, smote his father under the breast. Upon his death he was expelled from Italy, his kinsmen being enraged at him for so heinous a crime. "

M. de Gaulle's paper, where the ten arguments are given, have already shown also of what interest these versified annals may be, which deserve to be compared with the old British chronicles. Perhaps this gentleman ought not to have identified Sparta with that town of Sparatinum, where Brutus is besieged by Pandrasus, king of the Greeks. A marginal note of the Parisian manuscript states, without however

quoting any authority, that it is one of the three towns belonging to Assaracus, a Greek prince, Brutus's ally; while Geffrey of Monmouth, closely followed by our versifier, contents himself with saying that Assaracus was the owner of three castles which his father had given him at his death, on account of his being only the son of a concubine. The editor of Wace's "Roman de Brut" was somewhat right to say that it is not easy to determine either the name or the seat of that town [1].

Nor do we either accept without restriction M. de Gaulle's opinion as to the literary merit of the poem. "It has," says he, "all the defects of the Latin productions of the XIII[th] century, and very few of the qualities which are to be found in some of them." We shall see, however, that this metrical history is not without some passages, in which prevails the expression of a deep and natural feeling.

Although the work is less a translation than a free imitation in Latin verse of Geffrey of Monmouth's chronicle, commencing with Brutus, Æneas's great grand son, and ending at the death of Cadwallader, the last king of the Britons (A. D. 689), the whole tissue and extent of the composition, the succession and the connexion of the facts, the choice and the unfolding of the chief particulars, are generally the same on both sides. Sometimes the versifier is more concise than the prose chronicle; sometimes, on the contrary, he gives to certain circumstances a shape less dry and, apparently, more

[1] Le Roux de Lincy, *le Roman de Brut*, vol. I, p. 16.

poetical. Thus he takes almost every opportunity to substitute for complaints, for advice, for exhortations which in the prose are expressed in a few words, speeches in the direct style. Such is, at the beginning, the speech in twenty three lines, where the Trojans, slaves under Pandrasus, desire Brutus to be their leader to deliver them. Geffrey had only said that the hero's fame spreading over all the country, the Trojans from all parts began to flock to him, desiring under his command to be freed from the thraldom of the Greeks; our versifier expresses the same in the following lines :

Plebs igitur Trojana virum de semine cretum
Dardanio, flexis genibus, lacrimisque profusis,
Passibus aggrediens timidis, sic Horsa profatur :
" Dedecet ingenuos sub iniquo principe vitam
Ducere degenerem. Pudet, ha ! pudet esse tot annis
Sub domino dominos. Servi sumus et generosi.
Dum nos servimus, partim servire videris;
Cum sis pars nostri, nostri miserere tuique;
Nam potes [1], etc.

[1] In the " Histoire littéraire de la France, " vol. XXII, p. 74, M. Lajard quotes also as an instance of a similar amplification the letter written by Brutus to Pandrasus, before declaring war to him, to induce him to let the Trojans depart or to free them :

Pandrase rex Danaum, Brutus rex Dardaniorum,
Hec ego mitto tibi premissa verba salute.
Turpe reor regem regum de semine natos
Supposuisse jugo, etc.

But referring to Geffrey's History, book I, ch. IV, we ascertain that Brutus's letter to Pandrasus presents no other difference than its being in prose in the latter work. It runs thus : " Brutus, general of the remainder of the Trojans, to Pandrasus, king of the Greeks, sends greeting. As it was beneath the dignity of a nation descended from the illustrious race of Dardanus, to be treated in your kingdom otherwise than the distinction of their birth required, they have betaken themselves to the coverts of the woods; for they preferred living after the manner of wild beasts, upon flesh and herbs, with the enjoyment of liberty, to continuing any longer in the greatest luxury, under the yoke of slavery. If this gives Your Majesty any offence, impute it not to them, but pardon it,

Elsewhere, the gravity of the events and their probable consequences inspire the poet with reflexions exhibiting a lively and energetic feeling. Thus, near the end of the fourth book, when Conan accepts from Maximian the royalty of Armorica [1], the author only foresees, in that elevation, founded on the injustice and the violence of the conquest, misfortunes for Conan, for his family and all the country :

O regnum minime felix! o sanguine fuso
Optentum regale decus!

The author may have written those lines a short time after Peter Mauclerc humiliated himself before saint Louis, in 1234. Peter was, in truth, the first who bore the title of duke of Britanny; but the people possibly might not be accustomed to that new denomination, and the poet seeing Britanny lowered and almost submitted, could not to think of giving to it any other title than that of county, which it bore during many centuries.

The apostrophe to Vortigern, when he marries Hengist's

since it is the common sentiment of every captive to be desirous of regaining his former dignity. Let pity therefore move you to bestow on them freely their lost liberty, and permit them to inhabit the thickets of the woods, to which they have retired to avoid slavery; but if you deny them this favour, then by our permission and assistance, let them depart into some foreign country. "

[1] Rex igitur regnum, populo pollere Britanno
Gaudens, Armoricum Conano tradit, eumque
Promovet in regem, nomenque novat regionis,
Respectuque Minor est dicta Britannia Magne.

Nothing like this is to be found in Geffrey's British History, where chapter XIII of book V ends thus with a picture of the desolation of Britanny on that occasion : " The fame of Maximian's exploits, " says he, " spreading over the rest of the provinces of Gaul, all their dukes and princes were under a dreadful consternation, and had no other hopes left, but in their prayers to their gods. They fled everywhere from the country villages into the cities and towns, and other places of strength and safety, " etc.

daughter, the fair Rowena, is no less lively, and the beauty of it is that it does not extend beyond measure :

> Quid facis, o demens? quid id est, stultissime regum?
> Cur caperis facie, etc.

Those reflexions turned to sentiment and expressed, if not with all desirable good taste, at least with a certain warmth, are not even indicated in Geffrey of Monmouth's text [1].

Lastly, the poet ends by an invective against the English oppressors of the Britons, and by a protestation of love and devotion to the vanquished race. He acknowledges the weakness of his work; but he did not intend to write for scholars. He addresses it neither to the Saxons, nor to the Romans, nor even to the French, whom Britain often made uneasy; he wishes only his verses may be in the mouth of the children of his countrymen, in order that they may remember their old father land, and preserve the hope to recover some day or other the dominion which they had lost :

> Jam mea pene ratis fluctu maris obruta, portum
> Optatum tangit, et quam nec seva Caribdis
> Nec catuli Scille, nec terruit equoris unda,

[1] See book VI, ch. XII. It ends thus : " Hengist, being a prudent man, discovered the king's levity, and consulted with his brother Horsa and the other men present on what was to be done relative to the king's request. They unanimously advised him to give Vortigern his daughter, and out of consideration for her, to demand the province of Kent. Accordingly the daughter was, without delay, delivered to Vortigern, and the province of Kent to Hengist, unknown to Gorongan, who had the government of it. The king the same night married the pagan lady, and became extremely delighted with her, by which he quickly brought upon himself the hatred of the nobility and of his own sons; for he had already three sons, whose names were Vortigern, Katigern and Pascentius. "

Terrent terrarum fantasmata, terret edacis
Livoris morsus, tormento sevior omni.
Quis locus invidie, quid agit detractio mordax?
Hic ubi culpat opus, propriumque fecerat auctor,
Invide cur cernis obliquo lumine labro?
Indignante legis mea carmina, cur ea dente
Scabro corrodis? Non sunt, me judice, digna
Laude, nec in medio recitanda diserti.
Nil ego provectis, nil doctis scribo magistris,
Sed rudibus rude carmen ego, non verba polita
Non tragicis satis apta modis, non digna cathedra,
Non medio psallenda foro; cano gutture rauco.
Non plausus populi, non famam, non sapientum
Judicium quero; satis est mihi si puerorum
Gratus in ore legar. Procul hinc, procul esse periti;
Saxones hinc abeant, lateant mea scripta Quirites;
Nec pateant Gallis, quos nostra Britannia victrix
Sepe molestavit.

Excepting that feature, " quos nostra Britannia victrix, " we own that we might recognize, in the energetic complaints of that final strain, one of those Cambrians formerly driven back into their mountains by the Anglo-Saxons, and kept in the same oppression by the new conquerors, rather than an inhabitant of the little Britanny, a province jealous, it is true, of its independence with regard to the kings of France, but which, in the middle of the XIII[th] century, could not well dream of recovering England from the Saxons and the Normans, their vanquishers.

We have shown how the " Gesta regum Britanniæ " was framed; it remains to speak of the style of the work. In spite of the vague nature or impropriety of expression, the weakness of the poetical turns, the irregularity of

some constructions, and the want of taste, which in the amplifications belonging to the versifier, prevents him from stopping at the proper point, one must own that this poem exhibits more variety of style and is more entertaining to peruse than Wace's Brut, leaving apart however the interest inseparable from the primitive monuments of our language. In comparing both, any body may very easily convince himself that the old trouvère has almost everywhere more closely followed Geffrey of Monmouth's chronicle than the Latin poet did. It seems to us most likely that both of them drew their narratives from the same source, that is to say from the Latin chronicle of the Welsh Benedictine monk, rather than from the Brut y Brenhinoedd of Walter Calen. One might think that the discrepancies between their compositions and that of Geffrey are owing to a more immediate imitation of some of those ancient Armorican poems, which had been collected by the Archdeacon of Oxford; but that can only be conjectural, since those poems are wanting. In fact, although the existence, or at least the remembrance, of the popular songs which preserved the legend of king Arthur and of his fabulous predecessors, seem attested by the records of the middle ages, we should not dare, in spite of the researches of many industrious scholars, to boast of possessing the original texts of those early poems, or even some fragment of real authenticity.

As we have said before, the text of the " Gesta regum Britanniæ " is far from being correct, and too often both the quantity and the metre are defective; we have not however

attempted to afford a remedy to it. We have followed the Parisian manuscript and given in our appendix the various readings of the two others as far as we could from a careful collation; the only alteration introduced into our text is the introduction of punctuation and the substitution of v and j, when required. Had we had access to the manuscript of Valenciennes, we should have collated the whole of the poem; but we have only seen the fragment for which we are indebted to M. de Gaulle; and on finding how close it is to the Parisian manuscript, nobody will regret not having any more of the various readings.

We hope the small poems printed in the appendix on the same subject will be acceptable as a proper sequel to the " Gesta regum Britanniæ ". We have transcribed them from two manuscripts in the British Museum, and we have carefully compared the proofs with the originals; but we must confess that we took great liberties with the Latin text, which is indeed very incorrect. As to the Norman poem, we are at a loss to pronounce whether it is, or is not, a translation of a Latin tract which frequently occurs in the English libraries, namely in three Cottonian manuscripts [1]. With another poem on Brutus preserved in the Royal Library of Munich [2];

[1] *De Origine gigantum in insula Albion olim habitantium, et de nomine insulæ.* (Cott. Ms., Vespasianus, E.X, folio 890 verso; Titus, A.XIX, folio 103; Cleopatra, D.VIII, folio 3 verso.)

[2] *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecæ regiæ Monacensis*, t. VII. Monachii, A. M. CCC. LVIII., in-8°, p. 2, Gall. cod. 29.

*Incipit :* Si cum l'um trueve en mappemunde,
Bretaine est une ille parfunde.

*Explicit :* Ki selunc loi et par droiture
Des jugemens preisissent cure.

with this volume, Wace, Layamon, and Peter of Langtoft; we have all the metrical translations of Geffrey of Monmouth's celebrated chronicle which have come down to our days, but which were not the only ones; for we are informed that it was translated again as late as 1400 by an Englishman, whose work seems now to be lost [1].

[1] "Nec tamen Claratonem Anglum, has nugas versu Gallico reddere nostrisque hominibus obtrudere, cum Lutetiæ bonas addisceret literas sub annum M.CCCC." (*Guilielmi Neubrigensis Angli.... de Rebus Anglicis sui temporis, libri quinque*, etc. Parisiis, M.DC.X., in-8°, not. in Prooemium, p. 685.)

Among the manuscripts in the royal Library of Stockholm, there is one folio on paper, containing, under the title of *Breta Sögur*, i. e. British Narrations, a translation of Geffrey of Monmouth's History, which was interrupted after the 33[th] chapter; but our impression is that it is in prose. See P. E. Müller's *Saga-Bibliothek*, quoted by M. Geffroy. (*Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, etc., vol. IV, p. 220. Paris, M DCCC LVI, 8vo.)

# GESTA

# REGUM BRITANNIÆ.

*Incipit primus liber gestorum regum Britannie.*

Primus ab Ytalia, post patris fata, relegat
Brutum. Nubit ei regalis virgo. Dianam
Consulit. Invadit Mauros. Corineum sibi jungit.
Post maris et terre diversa pericula, vincit
Pictavos. Turonim sibi construit. Albyon intrat.
Gaudet; sacrificat; discurrit per loca; nomen
Inmutat patrie; sociis assignat habendas
Pro meritis sortes. Urbes, castella, deorum
Templa facit; statuit leges, et semina spargi
Precipit in terra; tutos jubet esse colonos.

Caliope, referas, ut te referente renarrem
Unde genus Britonum, que nominis hujus origo,
Unde suos habuit generosa Britannia reges,
Quis fuit Arturus, que gesta, quis exitus ejus,

Qualiter amisit infelix natio regnum.
Hiis presul Venetensis opem conatibus addat,
Qui, si post sacre Scripture seria, ludi
Presentis cursum vacuus spectaverit, et si
Theumaque propositum consertaque verba poete
Auctorisque stilum laudaverit, omne timores
Excussum cedet nostro de pectore frigus;
At si ridiculum vel inutile viderit, igni
Supponat totum, vel lima tollat abusum.

Brutus ab Enea quartus, cas patricida,
Exulat. Italiam fugiens, Lacedemona querit.
Pandrasus est ibi rex, sub quo captiva tenetur
Progenies Heleni, quem cum multis Frigiorum,
Post cineres Troje, post diruta menia, secum
Adduxit Pyrrus; mortem parentis in illos
Ulciscens, captos glebe servire coegit.
Interea numerus servorum crescit in ipsa
Anxietate jugi, jugique labore; sed ecce
Brutus adest, sapiens, formosus, fortis et audax,
Quem reges, quem turba ducum, quem femina, quem vir,
Quem dives, quem pauper amant; placet omnibus. Ejus
Audita fama, gaudet captiva caterva.
Plebs igitur Trojana virum de semine cretum
Dardanio, flexis genibus, lacrimisque profusis,
Passibus aggrediens timidis, sic Horsa profatur:
"Dedecet ingenuos sub iniquo principe vitam
Ducere degenerem. Pudet, ha! pudet esse tot annis
Sub domino dominos. Servi sumus et generosi.
Dum nos servimus, partim servire videris;

Cum sis pars nostri, nostri miserere tuique;
Nam potes et debes nostros dissolvere nexus.
Grecia nunc victrix reddet tibi victa tributum
Auxilio nostro. Fortes sumus, et legione
Majores numero, preter sexum muliebrem
Et pueros. Nostre casus ulciscere Troje;
Esto dux noster. Vincemus, te duce, regem
Grecorum; Grecos credas tibi terga daturos.
Nec status hic faciet servilis condicionis
Nos pavidos. Memores antique nobilitatis,
Nos labor assiduus duros, armisque ferendis
Aptos; delicie Danaos et pax diuturna
Efficiunt molles: hec pugna videbitur impar.
Cedentes Danaos cademus; vulnera Grecis
In tergo dabimus; vultus ostendere nunquam
Audebunt nobis, fugientque; fugabimus et nos.
"Adde quod Assaracus, Trojana matre creatus,
Patre tamen Greco, tria munitissima castra,
Que sibi legavit moriens genitor, tenet. Illi
Hec auferre parat ejus frater, quia non est
Legitime natus. Rex Pandrasus auxiliatur
Assaraci fratri; tibi vult hec opida sponte
Tradere seque simul. Hec et nos suscipe. Greci
Qui nunc sunt domini, fient, te vindice, servi."
Brutus ut attendit gemitus fletusque suorum,
Frendet, et assumit vires, et concipit in se
Ingentes animos. Victos servire Pelasgos
Jam sibi mente videt; curru victore superbus
Jam vehitur; sibi se sublimior esse videtur.
Annuit ergo suis; dux erigitur; tria munit

Castra relicta sibi. Petit Assaracus nemorosa,
Cum multa turba sexus utriusque suorum.
Dux igitur regi Grecorum talia scribit :

*Epistola.*

" Pandrase rex Danaum, Brutus rex Dardaniorum,
Hec ego mitto tibi premissa verba salute.
Turpe reor regem regum de semine natos
Supposuisse jugo : quare Trojana juventus,
Quam male tractasti, penitus tua jura resinans,
Saltus et nemorum tenet abdita, more ferarum.
Herbis et crudis potius vult carnibus uti,
Quam male divitiis honerata, subesse tiranno.
Elige quod malis, quod sit magis utile : vel tu
Permittas Frigios nemus et saltus habitantes
Libertate frui, vel eos patiaris abire."

Pandrasus est ob verba ducis turbatus; et ultra
Quam regem deceat, nimie non imperat ire.
Convocat ergo suos proceres, secumque citato
Cursu ducit eos, ut Troas precipitato
Turbine correptos, ad vincla relicta reducat.

Perpendens acies Sparatinum preterituras,
Sub precedentis tetra caligine noctis,
Ignaris Grecis, Brutus se claudit in illo
Cum ter mille viris ad bella gerenda paratis.

Postera lux aderat; dux regem pretereuntem
Cernit, et invadit incautum cautus, inermem
Armatus. Danay fugiunt, Troesque sequuntur
Nunc huc, nunc illuc; et quo suus impetus illos

Ducit, diffugiunt; perimuntur, non perimentes.
Ceduntur gladiis, moriuntur more bidentum.
Ad ripam rapidi fugiunt Achelonis; in illo,
Ne pereant gladiis, pereunt rapientibus undis.
Libertate frui sic gaudent agmina Bruti.
Antigonus, frater regis, fugientibus inquid :
" Quis furor, o socii, vitam finire sub undis?
Stemus et obstemus; lapides jactemus in hostes,
Telaque mittamus, nec sic moriamur inulti."
Sic faciunt, nec proficiunt; ceduntur inermes.
Antigonus capitur, et concors par Anacletus.

Vix rex, cum paucis, hostiles effugit enses;
Et Brutus Sparatini menia munit,
Et nemorosa petit ubi gens Trojana moratur.
Antigonum sociumque suum post terga ligatis
Adducit manibus, et eos includit in antris.

Rex vero, ob propriamque fugam stragemque suorum
Et captum fratrem, nimio merore movetur.
Illa nocte tamen dispersas colligit alas,
Ut veniente die castrum, spe ductus inani,
Obsideat, capiatque ducem, fratremque ligatum
Liberet, et referat victo victore trophea.
Astra fugante die, festinant undique Greci
Cingere castellum. Lituis clangentibus, Echo
Ex equo reboat; colles mugire videntur;
Incutitur terror reprobis; audacia crescit
Fortibus; evulsis telis obnubitur aer.
Inmensam fabricant molem testudinis; illam
Implent militibus, ut tali tegmine tuti
Dilapident murum. Sed Troes sulphur et ignes

Deiciunt in eam. Molem rapit ignis et ipsos
Dilapidatores, cassumque Grecique laborem
Et comitum mortem merent; sed meror eorum
Letitiam generat clausis; at panis egestas
Desperare facit illos. Legatus eorum
Mittitur ad Brutum, qui nunciat ut mora nulla
Illum detineat quin ipsis auxilietur.

Hiis dux auditis, quia tot tantasque phalanges
Non habet ut contra regem committere martem
Campestrem valeat, hostes invadere nocte
Proponit caute; sed ad hoc opus est alicujus
Auxilio Greci. Vocat ergo dux Anacletum,
Cum quo fedus init pacis, fideique cathena
Se simul astringunt post oscula mutua. Bruti
Consilio fretus, ad regis castra latenter
Nocte fere media properat, vigilesque salutat.
Quis sit et unde rogant. "Ego sum carissimus, inquit,
Antigoni socius, venio de carcere Bruti.
Antigonum socium meo mecum de carcere duxi;
Sed quia cum pedibus gravis est huc usque venire,
Non potuit; tectum nemorosa in valle reliqui."
Agnoscunt vigiles Anacletum; creditur illi.
Ad vallem veniunt. Dux est absconditus illic,
Et Trojana cohors. Presens nox non sinit ultra
Ut vigilent illi, properata cede perempti.
Post mortem vigilum dux tendit ad obsidionem,
Compescuntque pedum strepitus et murmura vocum.
Ille suos cuneos sapienter dividit in tres
Turmas; cuique suam partem dans aggrediendam,
Edicens inhibet ne degrassentur in hostes

Donec cum fuerit regis tentoria nactus,
Det sonitum lituo. Troes se leviter infra
Castra gerunt; Brutus tentoria regis adeptus
Obtatum sociis signum facit; excitat illos
Ensis, quos cogit sompno dormire perhenni.
Nemo suo parcit gladio; fas omne nephasque
Cuncta licent ensi; manus huic, pes ceditur illi.
Sanguinis unda ruit; quos stravit vulneris ictus,
Hos cruor extinguit, et sic leto geminato
Exalant animas. Alios gemitus morientum
Excitat a sompno; mentes stupor eripit illis;
Dum fugiunt alios, alios labuntur in hostes.
Nunquam deest hostis, nusquam perimensque eadensque.
Frusta sepe secant, in frusta cadavera; mortem
Ictibus invitant repetitis, que venit ultro.
Inclusi quos rex obsederat ocius aura,
Se simul excludunt; stragem, que magna videtur,
Majorem faciunt; minus hic reputatur iniquus,
Interfectorum qui plures reddit acervos.
Hinc si quis gladios evaserat, obruit ampnis.
At Brutus regem servat, quem vivere mavult
Quam perimi gladio; processu temporis illum,
Qui nunc est hostis, fieri sibi credit amicum.
  Lucifero retegente diem, nocturna ruina
Magna patet. Brutus interne gaudia mentis
Vix recipit. Gazas Grecorum precipit eque
Distribui sociis; sua porcio cuique videtur
Justa. Jubet tumulis spoliata cadavera tradi.
Hiis actis, multo castellum milite munit,
Et repetit nemorum, cum capto rege, latebras.

Majores natu dux convocat, et quid agendum
Sit de rege rogat. Pars est que judicat illum
Esse reum mortis; dicit pars altera : " Partem
Regni rex aliquam nobis assignet habendam."
Tertia pars censet magis utile posse reverti
In patriam; causas pars invenit omnis honestas.
Diversis diversa placent, cum nobilis astat
Membricius, sociisque suis dubitantibus inquit :
" Quis vestrum, nisi mentis inops, habitaret in uno
Regno cum Grecis? Nullo morientur in evo
Hesterne noctis preconia tristia Grecis,
Dulcia Trojanis; ex hoc contentio surget
Inter nos et eos, nec eis obsistere multis
Sufficimus pauci. Quociens miseranda suorum
Fata patrum recolent, tociens sevire parabunt
In sibi suspectam sobolem; nec finis eorum
Rancori dabitur, donec plenaria fiat
Ulcio de nostris, et cedes cede luatur.

" Sanius est igitur quod major filia regis
Innogenta duci conjunx a rege petatur.
Conferet argentum nobis, et conferet aurum
Innumerasque rates et cetera congrua classi;
Inde manu forti terram queremus habendam."
Omnibus ista placet sententia. Pandrasus illam
Approbat. Innogenta duci conceditur uxor;
Naves ter centum vinginti quatuor, auro,
Argento, vino, farris, speciebus, honuste
Presentantur eis, et cetera commoda nautis.
Omnibus hiis sumptis, rex est a carcere liber
Ascendunt naves et dant sua lintea ventis.

At nova nupta sui ducis inter brachia, summa
Stans in pupe, suam patriam ceterosque parentes
Destituens, spectat terras, et Pandrasus equor.
" Me miseram! quid id est? Pater, o pater! auferor, inquit;
Efferor, ut dicam veracius; est mihi latum,
Pro tumulo, pelagus; syrtes mihi fata minantur;
Predulci me voce vocant Syrenes edendam.
Scilla suis canibus promittit ferre frequenter
Exequias vive, si recte vita vocari
Talis vita potest, que pejor morte videtur.
Exequias vobis facio, sum mortua vobis,
Vosque mihi lugens nubo, dotata maritor
Exilio vitæve *(sic)* brevi. Cur matris in alvo
Non perii? Pereo monstris servata marinis."
Sic fatur; sed vocis iter singultus et orte
Impediunt lacrime; mens effugit et color oris,
Vires destituunt corpus; conlabitur amens
Conjugis in gremio. Nec verba minantia dicit,
Nec demulcet eam Brutus, nec basia nectit,
Donec post lacrimas et somphum noverit egram
Tractandam melius et verbis dulcibus aptam.
  Interea classis, vento deducta secundo,
Post maris ingressum transacta luce secunda,
Applicat ad terram quam circuit undique pontus.
Est nomen terre Loegencia; gentibus olim,
Nunc habitata feris. Armatos destinat illuc
Brutus, ut explorent si gens habitaret in illa.
Nulla vident hominum vestigia; sola ferarum
Signa patent. Passim discurrunt; denique muros
Inspiciunt urbis quam delevere pyrate;

Conspiciunt in ea delubra vetusta Diane.
Credere si fas est, ibi dat responsa petenti.
Hiis visis, discedunt inde, ferasque ferentes
Diversi generis, redeunt ad litus honusti.
Visa duci referunt; dux cum senioribus urbem
Et delubra petit. Gerio comitatur euntes,
Doctus in augurio. Vestitus sindone, Brutus
More suo niveis cingit sua timpora vittis;
Edis in ingressu tres aras construit : unam
Mercurio, mediamque Jovi, dextramque Diane.
Sacrificat bovis exta Jovi, cerveque Diane,
Mercurioque canis : tribus hiis tria numina placat,
Et nova vota facit, et verba precantia dicit;
Ante dee statuam stans, tollit ad ethera vultum,
Et plenum vino mixto cum sanguine cerve
In dextra cratera tenens, hec verba profatur :
"Diva triplex, cui sunt Proserpina, Luna, Diana
Nomina, claustra Stigis penetras, preclara refulges
In celo, jaculo nemorum gradiaris in apros;
Presens, preteritum tu conspicis atque futurum;
Dic, Dea, que michi sit tellus habitanda meisque.
Illic templa tibi statuam, te semper habebo
Pre cunctis gratam, pre cunctis te venerabor."
Hiis nonies dictis Trivie ter circuit aram,
Quodque tenet dextra vinum diffundit in ignes.
Jamque super pellem cerve jacet. Eripit illum
Dulcis sompnus, et est tempus quasi tercia noctis
Hora; venire deam visum est ac talia fari :
"Brute, sub occasu solis, trans Gallica regna
Insula vasta jacet, habitata gigantibus olim,

Nunc deserta quidem, quas ducis gentibus apta.
Huic terre tua jura dabis, te rege regetur.
Regnabit post te tua proles; exiet inde
Illustris toto rex qui regnabit in orbe."
Excitat a sompno quam vidit visio Brutum;
Miratur visis; dubitansque, retractat apud se
An verus sompnus fuerat, vel visio vera.
Cuncta suis narrat sociis ex ordine; gaudent
Auditis socii, surgunt repetuntque carinas;
Carbasa dant ventis. Decies tribus alta diebus
Equora classis arat. Demum patet Affrica nautis;
Inde salinarum petitur lacus; inde secatur
Inter Rusicadam Zareamque Zareeque fretum; sed ibidem
Insurgunt in eos nimia feritate pirate,
Quos tamen Hectorei superant. Ditantur eorum
Divitiis; abeunt, malveque fluenta relinquunt.
Ad Mauros veniunt; illic potusque cibique
Deffectus cogit illos invadere Mauros.
Devastant totam patriam. Discedit honusta
Classis; ad Herculeas tendit festiva Columpnas.
Vix ea Syrenes evadens, intrat in equor
Tirrenum; Troes illic prope littora plures
Inveniunt Troas habitantes; duxerat illuc
Antenor secum, fugiens incendia Troje,
Innumeros de gente sua, qui tempus ad istud
Creverunt numero. Corineus dux presidet illis,
Cui sensu, forma, vel viribus equiperari
Nemo potest. Si quem manibus tenet ille gygantem,
Ac si cum parvo contendat, suffocat illum.
Hunc habuit Brutus semper, dum vixit, in omni

Conflictu socium. Patrie commercia lingue
Hos et eos audita juvant, et gentis origo.
Sese concives seseque fatentur amicos.
Littoribus domibusque suis ortisque relictis,
Dux cum gente sua Brutum comitatur euntem.
Inde per inmensum mare currens Troica classis
Intrat in os Ligeris, per quod descendit in equor.
Noctibus hic septem remanent totidemque diebus.
A dextris jacet hiis Aquitania. Rex regit illam
Gofforius Pictus, a quo Pictavia dicta est.
Adventus ergo causas alienigenarum
Rex jubet inquiri, pacem bellumve requirant.
Regis legatis Corineus dux obviat, apros
Insectans aliasque feras in montibus altis.
Missorum primus, Hymbertus nomine, clamat :
" O stolidi miserique viri, mortique propinqui,
Que vos in saltus regis dementia duxit?
Numquid non constat vobis in saltibus istis
Venari vetitum, sine mandato speciali
Regis?" Ad hoc placide dux excipiens ait illi :
" Lex veterum commune facit genus esse ferarum;
Sic hic nulla tuo facta est injuria regi."
Hymbertus replicat utens pro lege sagitta,
Que penetrasset eum nisi se flexisset ab ictu.
Dux triplicans concludit ei non lege, sed arcu
Quem tenet in dextra. Frangit caput ejus, eumque
Destinat ad Stigios. Hymberti fata videntes,
Diffugiunt comites, et narrant omnia regi.
Rex stupet audita famuli nece; convocat ergo
Miliciam regni. Ligeris petit hostia, mortem

Hymberti cupiens ulcisci cede nocentum.
  Brutus ut adventum regis prope novit adesse,
In bene munitis pueros simul et mulieres
Navibus includit, et secum ducit in hostes
Electos de gente sua. Certamine juncto,
Inter Pictavos et Troas regnat Erinis.
Aggreditur Brutus Pictum, Pictusque resistit.
Ceditur et cedit pars utraque; cedere parti
Altera pars nescit, donec torrentis ad instar,
Qui de monte cadit horrendo turbine, mentis
Irate ductus, sua ducens agmina secum,
In dextro cornu Corineus certaminis intrat;
Ut lupus inter oves rapit has et dissipat illas;
Ut leo qui sedare volens jejunia, visum
Fertur in armentum, sic dux se mittit in hostes.
Hostibus in mediis frendens, quemcunque bipenni
Quam tenet assequitur, divisum in Tartara trudit.
Miratur Brutus, socii mirantur et hostes,
Unum posse virum tot milia tradere morti.
Dant hostes sua terga fuge; fugat hic fugientes.
" Proh pudor, ignavi! quo vos timor eripit? inquit;
Quo fuga vos retrahit? Stantes contendite mecum.
Vos tamen excuso, vestrumque minoro pudorem;
Nam mea vos terret virtus, que sepe gygantes
Tirrenos domuit, quos ternos atque quaternos
Ad Stiga direxit." Comes hec ad verba Suhardus,
Stans cum militibus ter centum milibus, ipsum
Impetit ense ducem. Comitis dux suscipit ictum
In clipeo, securus eo; tollensque bipennem,
Aggreditur comitem, cujus galeamque capudque

Et totum corpus medium secat. Hinc reliquorum
Corruit in turbam. Callis qui ducit ad Orcum,
Quamvis sit latus, strictus tamen esse videtur
Hiis quos occidit Corineus; qui solus in omnes
Currit, et incurrit exercitus omnis in unum.
Brutus ut hec audit, partem festinat in illam.
Tunc ingens oritur clamor; tunc magnus ad astra
It fragor armorum; tunc indicat utraque turba
Quid queat; alta ruit diffusi sanguinis unda.
Ignoratur cui parti victoria cedat;
Sed tandem sua terga fuge prebent Aquitani.
Rex vix evadens cedem, cum parte suorum
Gallica regna petit, ut ibi notos et amicos
Postulet auxilium. Bis sex tunc temporis illic
Regnabant reges, sine murmure regna regentes,
Quisque suum : regem reges venerantur, et omnes
Ejus in auxilium devota mente feruntur.
At Brutus socios spoliis condonat ademptis;
Inde cito cursu regionem vastat eamdem;
Depopulatur agros, villas incendit et urbes.
Plebs cum cive cadit, perit omnis sexus et etas
Et genus et species, preter volucresque ferasque;
Et si quam sibi vim mater natura reservat,
Tocius regni ferrum dominatur et ignis.
Effodiuntur opes; animalia, farra feruntur
Ad naves. Brutus post hec incendia, castra
Est sua metatus illic ubi dicitur esse
Nobilis urbs Turonis; fossatis circuit illa;
Et nisi Gofforii regumque resistere possit
Impetui, quos cum Turonis prope constat adesse,

Se deffendat ibi, valli munimine tutus.
Gofforius nova castra videns : " Proh Jupiter! inquit,
Quis Deus exulibus nostris ostendit in horis
Condere castellum? Satrape, prosternite vallum;
Ducite semimares, aut cesos tradite morti."
Armantur Galli velociter; arma capescunt
Trojani cicius. Pars utraque tendit ad illum
Conflictus campum. Sua spes utrique triumphum
Promittit parti; sed non manet exitus idem.
Omnes in Gallos concurrunt agmina Bruti.
Incurrunt in eum Galli. Victoria nescit
Cui parti faveat, dum Mars sua tela ministrat.
In primo belli conflictu, Troica turba
Prevalet agminibus regis; duo millia morti
Gallorum data sunt; crescunt tamen agmina regis.
Decrescunt Troes, quamvis majore prematur
Gallica clade cohors, et Troica turba minore.
Regis in auxilium concurrunt undique Galli;
Quod Dux prospiciens, socios in castra reducit.
Incurrunt in eos toto conamine Galli.
Se bene deffendunt infra munimina valli
Dardanii juvenes, lapides et previa mortis
Spicula mittentes in eos et mille sagittas.
In nemus adducens secum tria milia Troum,
Exit de castris Corineus de nocte latenter.
At Brutus, cum jam cepit clarere diei
Aurea lux, reserat firmata repagula valli.
Egrediens Trojana cohors se mittit in hostes;
Insurgunt in eam Galli : Mars morsque propinquunt.
Spicula mille volant, obnubunt mille sagitte

Aera. Mille simul haste franguntur utrinque.
Mille cadunt proceres; sternuntur mille clientes.
Occiditur Turnus, de cujus nomine clarum
Nomen habet Turonis; quo nec formosior alter
Vel probitate prior, vel Bruto carior, istud
Venerat ad bellum, preter mirabile corpus
Invicti Corinei, qui quanto Lucifer astra,
Et sol Luciferum, tanto supereminet omnes.
Dum dubitat Mavors cui parti pareat, impar
Apparet Corineus; Gallos nil tale timentes
Occupat a tergo; sternit sternuntque cohortes
Que comitantur eum, Gallos in terga; gerentes
In Brutum vultus, illis audacia crescit
Qui stant cum Bruto. Galli nec retro nec ante
Cede carent. Cedunt cedentes. Troica cedit
Ense cohors, nec cessat eos diversa petentes
Usque sequi, donec Bruto victoria cedit.
  Dux igitur, quamvis feliciter accidit illi,
Corde tamen teritur, quum decrescere Troias,
Augeri semper Gallos videt. Eligit ergo
Utiliusque putat extranea regna relinqui,
Promissamque sibi terram per lata requiri
Equora. Trojanis placet hec sententia. Naves
Confestim repetunt, et eas ingentibus implent
Divitiis; ventis dant lintea. Terra petita
Quinta deinde die Frigiis patet. In Totonensi
Littore consistunt; infingitur anchora terre.
Omnes exultant, omnes loca grata salutant,
Grates dant Trivie. De navibus egrediuntur :
Terra viris nemorosa placet; piscosa fluenta

Cernens delectat. Tunc temporis Albyon hujus
Nomen erat terre, nunc dicta Britannia Major.
Illustrant faciem terre; sed nulla virorum
Facta vident, nullosque viros, ni forte gygantes
Paucos, qui fugiunt illos adeuntque cavernas.

Inde novus regnum sociis rex dividit eque,
Cuique suam tribuens sortem Castella domosque
Edificant. Miratur humus se vomere lesam,
Semine se gravidam, se fetam germine, messe
Se canam subito; tamen est in tempore parvo
Dedita culture, quasi sic ab origine mundi
Culta foret. Nomen populi terreque novatur :
A Bruto Britones dicuntur, sive Britanni,
Nomine corrupto. Corineo concedit habendam
Cornubiam; nomen suum sortitur ab illo.
Plaga duci placet hec, quoniam provincia nulla
De cunctis aliis tot habet quot et illa gygantes,
Inter quos unus, cujus nomen Goemagus;
Horridus est fortisque gygas, bis sex cubitorum
Corpore. Si quercum semel excutit, obruit illam.
Ille ducem sociosque ducis diis sacrificantes
Invadit; comitatur eum fera turba gygantum.
Vinginti cedunt crudeli cede Britannos.
Undique concurrunt Britones; subitoque gygantes
Omnes dant morti, preter solum Geomagum,
Quem sibi servari Corineus jubet, ut probet ejus
Vires luctando. Mirabile provocat ipse
Ad luctam monstrum; lucte certamen uterque
Letus adit; nacti certam certaminis, astant,
Hinc dux, inde gygas. Collidunt pectore pectus,

Frontem fronte; sibi circumdant brachia; nectant
Sese; conatur hic illum sternere; nullus
Exudit, nullus cedit. Par cum pare certe
Certat in incertum; crebris afflatibus oris
Et nimio sudore probant non posse duellum
Stare diu; nec constat uter sic obruat utrum.
Nec mora, constrictus tota virtute gygantis,
Tres costas sibi Corineus frangi percipit, unam,
In levo unam, dextroque duas; succenditur ira.
Inde suas vires revocat; tollitque gygantem
In collo, rupisque petit sublime cacumen;
Excutit inde Gygen et in altum proicit equor,
Qui preceps in frusta cadit. Memorabile nomen
Servat adhuc rupis Geomagi precipitati.

# GESTORUM REGUM BRITANNIÆ

## LIBER SECUNDUS.

---

### *Prologus secundi libri.*

Lundonias claras condit; tria regna secundus
Efficit ex uno. Succedit nupta marito,
Filius huic; frater fratrem laniat, lupus illum.
Ebraucus regnat et Gallica regna lacessit;
Expulso patri regnum sua filia reddit;
Ense sui fratris frater cadit, ille parentis.
Quinque simul regnant, regnat Donguallo peremtis
Collegis; leges statuit, pacemque reformat.
Brennius in fratrem convertit prelia; victus
Confugit ad Gallos. Ducis illi filia nubit.

### *Incipit secundus liber.*

Hiis ita dispositis, Brutus sibi construit urbem,
Appellatque Novam veteris de nomine Trojam;
Quare Trinovantum successio nominat urbem,
Lundoniasque vocant mutata voce moderni,
Quam faciunt situs ipse loci placidusque Tamensis
Prataque et arboribus circumdata littora gratam.
Hanc amat, hanc cingit muris, hanc turribus altis
Roborat, hanc decorat domibus templisque deorum;

Assignatque suas sub certo federe sortes
Omnibus, et condit leges; pacemque fidemque
Firmat, et infirmat contraria. Premia justis,
Injustis penas promittit, et utraque solvit.
Tunc in Judea dabat Hely sacra sacerdos,
Atque Philistei servabant federis archam.
Pandrasiden Brutus cognovit, progenuitque
Locrinum, Kamber, Albanactum. Moderamen
Regni pacifice vinginti quatuor annis
Rexit; tunc demum nature debita solvit,
Inque Nova Troja quam condiderat tumulatur.
Fratribus una tribus regio dissolvitur in tres
Partes : Locrinus primam, Kamberque secundam;
Albanactus habet primam mediamque sequentem.
Locrini pars est Loegria, Kambria Kambri,
Albanacti pars Albania dicitur; at nunc
Demum Locrini pars Anglia, Guallia Kambri,
Est Albanacti pars Scocia. Tres tria regna,
Quisque suum, sine lite tenent, sine lite gubernant,
Donec in Albanas partes rex applicat Humber.
Albanactus ei cum multis obviat; Humber
Tradit eum morti; fugiens Albana juventus
Locrini deposcit opem. Locrinus in Humbrum
Et Humber veniunt; committunt prelia partes.
Pars Humbri dat terga fuge; que dum fugit ensem,
Mergitur in fluvium; submerso nomen ab Humbro
Humber habet fluvius. Victoribus omnia victi
Distribuit sociis Locrinus; sed tamen aurum
Argentumque sibi proprios conservat in usus,
Et nimium pulchras tres quas in classe puellas

Invenit. Estrildis prior est et pulchrior harum,
Filia Germani regis, quam barbarus Humber
Abstulerat patri tunc cum Germanica regna
Traderet exitio. Regalis forma puelle
Vincit Locrinum, connubia cujus inesset,
Si licuisset ei; sed facta priora repugnant;
Nam postquam Corineus hec novit, filia cujus
Nubere Locrino premisso federe debet,
Indignatus adit regem, tollensque bipennem,
Sic ait : " Hocne mihi meritum, Locrine, rependis
Pro tot vulneribus que pro te proque parente
Sustinui tam sepe tuo, quod Guendoloene,
Quam ducturus eras, penitus connubia spernas,
Prepositurus ei spernenda cubilia capte?
Haut impugne feres. Manus hec tibi gaudia vite
Eripiet, que sepe tuo stipendia mortis
Eripuit patri. " Clamat, tollitque bipennem,
Percussurus eum. Medios utriusque propinqui
Inter ponunt se; fedus pacemque reformant
Inter eos. Ducit Locrinus Guendoloenam,
Sed tamen Estrildis non est oblitus amoris;
Inque Nova Troja ferri jubet esse ipse meatum
Sub terra, talamumque facit, clauditque puellam
Illic occulte. Non audet habere patenter
Illam, ne Corinei sedatam suscitet iram.
Septem rex annis illam sine teste frequentat,
Exceptis paucis. Quociens accedit ad illam,
Mentitur se sacra deis occulta parare.
Concipit interea Germanica; nascitur illi
Filia, quam patrie lingua mater vocat Habren;

Et regina simul puerum parit, impositumque
Est illi nomen Maden, materque docendum
Tradit eum Corineo. Processu temporis ipse
Decedit Corineus. Locrinus Guendoloenam
Deserit, Estrildem regine precipit uti
Nomine reque simul. Indigna[n]s Guendoloena
Patris adit patriam, populi collecta paterni
Agmina deducit in regnum conjugis. Ille
Obviat uxori; sed teli vulnere lesus,
Occidit. Hinc regni regnum regina regendum
Suscipit. Estrildim correptam precipitari
In fluvium cum prole sua facit. Inde novatur
Nomen aque que Stura prius, nunc dicitur Habren;
Ast alia lingua fluvius Sabrina vocatur.

Post mortem regis, regnavit quinque ter annis
Guendoloena; decem Locrinus rexerat ante.
Tunc etate videns Maden sua mater aductum,
Sponte resinat regni moderamen, eumque
Insignit regis dyademate. Vera prophetat
In Sylo Samuel, mirandaque fingit Homerus.
Membricium Malymque sua de conjuge Maden
Suscipit. Inter eos oritur, post funera patris,
Scisma super regno; fraterna cuspide Malis
Occidit occisus. Se solum gaudet habere
Membricius regnum, tantaque tyrannide ductus
In sibi subjectos bacchatur nobiliores,
Quosque fere perimit; cognatis insidiatur;
Progeniem delere suam conatur, et omnes
Qui debent illi succedere vive dolove
Opprimit; uxorem de qua susceperat ipse

Ebraucum juvenem lutat, venerique nefande
Deditus offendit naturam; provocat iram
Offensamque Dei. Vingenti polluit annis
Sceptrum, dum tandem, silvis venante, in illum
Exercet rabiem sevissima turba luporum,
Dilaniantque ipsum. Sic mors infanda nephandum
Perdit : ab introitu non discrepat exitus ejus.
Tunc in Judea rex Saul sceptra tenebat.
Ebraucus patri succedit, corpore magnus
Et fortis. Primus post Brutum Gallica regna
Classe petit; ferro regiones vastat et igni.
Transfert victor opes Gallorum; ditat amicos;
Vinginti natos habuit natasque decem ter
Ex vinginti conjugibus quas ipse tenebat.
Silvius in Latio successerat Alba Latino.
Ejus conjugium dedignabatur inire
Turba Sabinarum; quod cum fama referente
Constitit Ebrauco, decies tres ille puellas,
Sic sibi progenitas, dilectum misit ad Albam;
Nobilibus conjunxit eas rex Alba maritis.
Filius Ebrauci, fratrum cum parte suorum,
Germanos addit Assaracus, multoque cruore
Undique diffuso, tandem sibi subjugat illos.
At Brutus, Viridis Scuti cognomine dictus,
Ebrauci primogenitus succedit eidem.
Filius illius Leylus, contemptor iniqui,
Justitie cultor, venie dator, arbiter equus,
In dando largus, constans et pacis amator,
Succedit Bruto. Pacem servat statuitque,
Servarique facit leges, et construit urbem

Kaerleil, addit ei proprio de nomine nomen.
Quinque regit lustris, in vite fine remissus
Et nimium tepidus; ideo discordia mota
Est inter Britones, quia rex non corripit illos.
Rex Salomon templum Domini tunc edificavit;
Tunc Austri regina stetit coram Salomone,
Epitus in Latio post Albam scepra tenebat.
Post mortem Leyli Ruhudus diadema paternum
Suscipit, et septem lustris et quatuor annis
Imperat et rigide regnat, pacemque reformat
Inter discordes; illam quoque construit urbem
Quam proprio Thomas illustrem sanguine fecit,
Guintoniamque urbem condit, castrumque Palundur,
Quod nunc Scephtoniam dicunt, ubi cana vetustas,
Dum muri fierent, aquilam preclara locutam
Verba refert. Capis Epitides dat jura Latinis;
Ageus, Amos, Leu, Johel Azariasque prophetant.
Bladudus post fata patris dyadema paternum
Indignus sumit. Bladonem construit urbem;
Balnea condit in hac, quibus est prelata Minerva;
Ejus in ede viget qui nunquam defficit ignis.
Prestigiis intentus avesque imitatus, in altum
Aera ducit iter; tamen est dejectus ab alto,
Inque Novam Trojam liquefactis corruit alis,
Confractisque suis amittit gaudia vite
Ossibus. Excessum sequitur de jure ruina.
Bladudum sequitur Leyr, ejus filius; urbem
Construit, appellat constructam Kaerleyr, et nunc
Nostris eadem Lerecestria dicta. Puellas
Tres genuit. Nomen est Gonorilla prioris,

Alterius Regau, nomen Cordilla minoris,
Quas pater illarum magno dilexit amore,
Cordillam majore tamen. Vergentibus ejus
Annis in senium, primam sic temptat et inquit :
" Dic mihi, dic quantum me diligis. " Illa roganti
Respondet : " Nichil esse potest quod carius extet
Te mihi, care pater. " Responsum rex adulantis
Approbat, et dicit : " Tua sit pars tertia regni,
Filia cara, mei, generumque mihi generosum
Tu generosa dabis. " Regau quesita roganti
Sic respondit ei sicut responderat ejus
Ante soror. Sicut promiserat ante sorori,
Sic promittit ei. Querenti tertia patri,
Responsum varians, quem blandire sorores
Conspicit, inquit : " Eo, genitor karissime, tantum
Diligo te patrem quo filia debet amare.
Si non sufficit hoc, et si vis certior esse,
Audi, vera loquar : quantum te constat habere,
Tanti te dico, tantum te diligo porro. "
Rex ratus est quod eum sua filia despicit; unde
Sic affatur eam : " Quia patris despicis annos,
Te quoque despiciam; regno decorabo sorores
Conjugibusque tuas. Tu regni tocius expers
Exheresque, viro nubes, si forte maritus
Ducere te sine dote velit. " Quid plura? Puellas
Predictas, regni media cum parte, duobus
Conjungit ducibus, alia sibi parte relicta
Dum vivat. Totum regnum concedit habendum
Post sua fata suis generis, experte minore.

Interea celebris Francorum regis ad aures

Tendit Aganippi Cordille fama. Puellis
Illam preponens cunctis quas insula gestat
Predita (namque bonis tam forme, tam rationis,
Nomen habet clarum), Francorum rex amat illam;
Postulat hanc patrem; solo dotata decore,
Mittitur ad regem regalis filia conjunx.
Rex igitur Britonum, senio confectus, ab illis
Privatur regno quibus est divisio facta
Regni. Deponunt hunc qui prefecerat illos.
Inter eos oritur dispar discordia; toto
Privatur regno. Generi, gens impia, regnum
Eripiunt socero. Maglaurus, Scoticus heros,
Nec probitate minor Henninus Cornubiensis,
Ambo duces, tandem procerum mediante favore,
Sic sibi pacificant, premisso federe regni,
Quod sit triginta sociis contentus; eisque
Subsidium vite regali more ministrant.
Id placet, ad partes firmant. Sua filia major
Prima patrem recipit, et eum sociosque procurat;
Cumque duos annos sic una preteriissent,
Gonorilla suum sic est affata maritum:
"Nimirum, miror ita te parere parenti,
Dux Maglaure, meo. Pueris eadem senibusque
Mentis inest levitas, quoniam discretio mentis
Languescit quociens vires in corpore languent.
Nonne meum decuit private vivere patrem
Confectum senio? Ducit diffusius agmen,
Quam cum regnaret; nostre vix sufficit illi
Proventus terre. Contentus debuit esse
Viginti tantum sociis; reliquisque relictis,

Nos satis offendet." Maglaurus conjugis usus
Consilio, regi quod consulit illa revelat.
Rex igitur tristis, generum natamque relinquens,
Tendit ad Heninum, cui regis filia juncta
Est Regau. Regem letato corde receptum
Tractat honorifice. Tandem contentio mota
Est inter domini famulos utriusque; sed uxor
Indignata ducis jubet ut rex deserat omnes
Preter quinque suos socios. Rex anxius illam
Deserit, et repetit primam, quoniam feritatem
Deposuisse suam putat hanc. Tamen illa, feroci
Insistens animo, mandat sic impia patri
Quod si non uno contentus milite tantum
Esse velit, querat alium qui colliget illos.
Ille suos, crebro singultu verba secante,
Invitus socios excepto deserit uno.
O rota Fortune, que tam cito volveris, altos
Dejicis ab alto, dejectos tollis in altum!
Nusquam stas stabilis; nusquam pede firma tenaci.
Ecce Leir, quem turba ducum circumdabat olim,
Vix habet unius solatia militis. Illa
Quam facit heredem stirps, ducta Thesiphoneo,
Exheredebat eum. Rex ergo se sine regno
Esse videns, nescit quid sit sibi; quid sit agendum
Ignorat penitus. Tamen hec in corde revolvit:
"Que se dicebat me cunctis prepondituram,
Me mea progenies cunctis postponit. Oportet
Aut me, dum vivam, miserandam ducere vitam,
Aut quam despexi Cordille limen adire:
Forte sui miseri miserabitur illa parentis."

Nec mora, carpit iter; petit equor, navigat inde;
Vixque duo comitantur eum, quibus ille profusis
Sic fatur lacrimis : " O quam rata seria fati,
Que nemo revocare potest! Quis crederet unquam
Regem mendicum? Contraria sunt in eodem :
Pauper, rex; in me concordant hec duo solo;
Nec me tam graviter pondus premit esuriei,
Quam graviter cruciat repetitio diviciarum
Quas habui. Minus hunc ledit leviusque molestat
Paupertatis honus qui semper vixit egenus,
Quam qui mendicat, factus de divite pauper.
Hostes quos domui, dum sub me preside tota
Insula polleret, me deridere jacentem
Vidi; quas habui caras fecique potentes
Terga dedere mihi, postquam ravufia fugit.
Eloquium Cordille nunc denique sensi
Esse ratum, quoniam quanta est possessio rerum,
Tanta fides hominum, tanta est dilectio cordis.
Et quid erit tempus in quo Fortuna reversa
Restituet mihi regni jura, meisque rependam
Premia provinciis, ut qui me [nosse] negarunt
Nosse negem, qui me spreverunt spernere possim?"
Interea navis, felici concita vento,
Evolat ad Gallos. Carnotum rex erat; illic
Francorum regina manet; legatus ad illam
Tendit, qui patris adventum nunciat illi.
Rex extra muros expectat corde trementi.
At simul adventum cari regina parentis
Novit, et eventum, cadit amens et flet amare,
Massamque argenti tradens aurique clienti,

Sic ait : " Hinc cito rex aliam translatus ad urbem
Egrum se fingat et se regaliter ornet,
Associetque sibi socios quos exigit apte
Regia majestas. Tunc demum socius ejus
Dicat Aganipo socerum venisse Leir rex."
Jussa sibi letus, sine cuncta, cuncta peregit.
Tocius regni cicius proceresque ducesque
Ducit in occursum soceri gener. Excipit illum,
Et se demittens, regni committit eidem
Jura sui, donec fuerit decoratus honore
Culminis amissi. Confestim convocat omnem
Miliciam regni. Leyrus cum milite multo
Invadit generos; quos extulit, opprimit; aufert
Hiis regnum quibus id dederat, regnatque duobus
Annis; decedit; succeditque ei sua cara
Filia, que socerum generis succedere fecit,
Ordine turbato. Britones Cordilla, marito
Et patre defunctis, regit annis quinque potenter.
Interea Britones reputant vile subesse
Femineo juri. Quod cum Cunedagius audit
Marganusque, ducum proles, quibus abstulit olim
Regnum rex Leyrus, memorant opprobria patrum,
Reginam infestant, capiunt, in carcere claudunt.
Se clausam regina dolet, mortemque propinat
Ipsa sibi, satagens gladio finire dolorem.
Dividitur regnum dominis sine lite duobus,
Pars utriusque ducis sibi gaudet pace bienni;
Sed quia participum regni dissensio sepe
Assolet esse comes, Marganus solus habere
Regnum molitur; partem consortis in igne

Destruit et gladio. Cunedagius obviat illi;
Marteque conserto, capitur Marganus, et expers
Tocius efficitur : quoniam qui plus petit equo,
A toto de jure cadit. Cunedagius ergo
Tocius regni sex lustris rexit habenas.
Tunc Ysaias cecinit, tunc condita Roma est.
Postquam decessit Cunedagius, ejus eundem
Filius in regno sequitur Rivallo, locuplex,
Et pacis custos, et justus. Tempore cujus
Sanguineas guttas referunt muscasque cadentes
De celo, subitam cladem ingessisse Britannis.
Filius ejus eum sequitur Gurgustius; illum
Sillius; hunc Lago; Kinmarchus Gorbodugonem
Precessit. Successit ei sevissima proles,
Ferrux et Porrex, qui cum videre parentem
In senium vergisse suum, quis regnet eorum
Contendunt. Porrex majore cupidine regni
Tactus, Ferrugem molitur tradere morti.
Ille fugit, Gallosque petit, regisque Subhardi
Impetrat auxilium; redit, adducitque catervas
Francorum secum. Cui Porrex obviat. In se
Arma ferunt fratres. Ferrux obcumbit, et omnes
Qui comitantur eum; Indonaque, mater eorum,
Quam dolor in facinus trahit, anxia facta noverca,
Porricem jugulat fraterna cede madentem.
Post quorum cedes, Britonum cui cedere sceptrum
Debeat ambigitur; quia quisque potentior, ejus
Viribus indulgens, vult uti nomine regis.
Post varias lites diversaque prelia, demum
Quinque regunt reges regnum cum cismate scissum.

Interea Dongnallo probus, nullique secundus
Viribus aut forma, post patris funera regis
Cornubie Clotonis, agit memorabile bellum
Contra Pynnerum, cui tota Loegria servit.
Cedere dum nescit Pynnerus, ceditur ense.
Hinc rex Cambrorum Rudaldus, Stateriusque
Rex Albanorum, confirmant fedus, euntque
In Dongnallonem. Dongnallo congregat omnes
Cornubie fortes. Ineunt certaminis impar
Discrimen partes; patitur pars utraque passim
Dampna sui; calcant defuncta cadavera vivi.
Dum manet in dubio cui stet victoria, fortes
Sex centos juvenes defunctis hostibus arma
Demere Dongnallo jubet et sibi sumere dempta,
Et sua deponit assumitque hostica; sicque
Invadunt reges ut amici, sed tamen hostes;
Nam perimunt reges. Percussis regibus, omnes
Qui comitantur eos vertunt sua terga, fugeque
Indulgent. Illos sequitur Dongnallo suique;
Sed tamen ille suos metuens, hostilia demit
Arma sibi, sumptisque suis, non desinit hostes
Sternere, donec ei cessit victoria. Victor
Victorum terras adit impiger et sibi subdit.
Insula servit ei. Facit ex auro dyadema;
Dat pacem; statuit leges; edicit ut omnis
Qui fugit ad templum vel ad urbes, si licet ille,
Vel latro, vel predo, vel sit quocunque reatu
Dampnandus, sit tutus ibi; tutas ut asilum
Esse vias, tutos jubet agricolas, ut aretur.
Cessant predones. Siccam consummit erugo.

Sic regnum lustris octo Donguallo gubernat.
Post hunc Belinus et Brennius, inclita proles,
Illius in regno succedere certat uterque.
Dividitur regnum; sua pars signatur utrique.
Ut primo genito, cessit regis diadema
Soli Belino; frater quoque subditur illi.
Quinque suum fedus servant, non amplius, annis;
Namque misceri discordia prosperitati
Sepe solet. Quidam quibus est concordia discors
Paxque molesta, suo domino dixisse feruntur :
" Brenni, cur fratri subjectus es? At pater idem
Vos genuit, materque eadem. Qua conditione
Es, velut infamis, regis privatus honore?
Adde quod in multis bellis expertus es. Anne
Dux Morianorum, te compellente, Reulphus
Fugit, dum nostros vellet sibi subdere fines?
Tam fedum fedus rumpendum est; sit tibi conjunx
Norguegici regis Elsini filia, cujus
Nactus opem poteris adipisei regis honorem. "
Talibus atque aliis inductus Brennius, illis
Annuit. Elsini regnum petit. Uxor eidem
Exoptata datur. Frater commotus in ejus
Discurrit sortem. Capit opida, vendicat urbes,
Munitasque suis tradit custodibus illas.
Brennius audito frater quod fecerat ejus,
Congregat innumeram soceri de gente cohortem,
Navigiumque parat; cum conjuge navigat. Ecce
Rex Dacus Guthlacus eum, correptus amore
Conjugis illius, collectis classe virisque
Assequitur. Navale parat pars utraque bellum.

Forte ratis capitur in qua predicta puella
Fertur; dumque volant ex omni spicula parte,
Ex improviso perturbant equora venti,
Disperseque rates diversa ad litora tendunt.
Rex vero Dacus, ventorum turbine raptus,
Applicat ad litus Norchanhumbrense, puellam
Adducens; populus capit hos, captosque reducit
Ad regem. Rex ergo serie recitata
Letus vix recipit interne gaudia mentis.
Brennius interea, collectis navibus, amens,
Amisso regno, rapta quoque conjuge, tristis
Transit ad Albanos et fratri talia scribit :
" Frater, si fratris es dignus nomine, regnum
Redde mihi, nuptamque meam, fedusque fidemque
Juratam serva. Quod si non feceris, ense
In populum regnumque tuum bachabor et igni;
Eripiamque tibi vitam, si forte facultas
Obtulerit mihi se. " Spretis monitisque minisque,
Perstat in incepto Belinus. Congregat ergo
Miliciam regni; fratrem petit. Obviat illi
Brennius in campo quem circuit undique silva
Dicta Calaterium; plus quam civilia bella
Committunt fratres. Obnubitur eminus aer
Grandine telorum; franguntur cominus haste.
Accedunt propius; commiscent ensibus enses;
Mors cum marte venit. Gladio testante probatur
Quis probus aut reprobus, quis fortis, quisve remissus,
Quis sit amans laudis. Sitit omnis turba cruorem,
Omnes arma tenent; omnes feriuntve caduntve.
Nemo pari parcit; strages jacet alta virorum.

Forte aliquis gladiosve timens, modiceve cruentus,
Labitur in terram; dejecta cadavera lapsum
Extinguunt, fictamque necem mors vera sequuta est.
Est alius letale gerens sub pectore vulnus,
Cum prope prospiceret actorem vulneris, ipsum
Impetit, et mersis digitis in gutture, fronti
Dentibus affixis, ad Tartara tendit uterque.
Brenius ergo videns socios sine fine diei
Deffecisse suos, et prevaluisse Britannos,
Destituit campum; lacero fugit agmine; litus
Et naves repetunt. Nox hostibus eripit illum;
Vix unam nactus navem dat lintea ventis,
Et fugit ad Gallos, ubi sors sua dirigit illum.
Fratre triumphato, Belinus consulit omnes
Primates regni, quid agat de rege retento.
Convenit ut liber rex permittatur abire
Cum consorte sua, sumantque perhenne tributum
A Dacis Britones. Firmato federe, liber
Discedit, potiturque sua securus amica.
Porro Belinus se solum gaudet honore
Ditatum regni; leges jubet inviolatas
Esse sui patris. Proceres tamen ipsa viarum
Jura monent, regemque precantur ut indicet illis
Quas tutus jubet esse vias, regique dicatas.
Rex igitur motus procerum prece, precipit unum
Extendi callem qui, factus scemate mixto,
Ad mare Comichicum Catinensi ducat ab urbe;
Alter ad Hamonis portum ducturus ab urbe est
Meneia; callesque duos non absque labore
Ducit ab obliquo qui cantellat regionem.

Limitat inde vias alias quibus itur ad urbes;
Quas omnes ex cementi lapidisque perhennat
Conjugio, jurique suo rex vendicat illas.

Brennius est ergo Gallorum ductus in horis,
Quem bis sex equites comitantur. Supplicat ergo
Francigenis, et eos exorat supplice voce
Ut sibi succurrant. Non exauditus ab illis,
Tendit ad Alobroges; quorum dux suscipit illum,
Nomine Seginus, et digno tractat honore.
Nec mora, dux illum tanto sibi jungit amore,
Ac si carnalis foret ejus filius, ut cui
Viribus et forma ullus respondet, in omni
Obsequio promptus, prodest belloque togaque.
Unica Segini datur illi filia conjunx.

# GESTORUM REGUM BRITANNIÆ

## LIBER TERTIUS.

---

### *Prologus libri tertii.*

Tertius armatos fratres exarmat inermis
Ammonitu matris. Gallos urbesque Quirini
Vi superant. Patriam petit. Unus et imperat alter.
Dacia vectigal reddit. Dat Martia leges.
Devorat immanis crudele belua regem
Depositum. Pius instituens se degradat ipsum.
Ter sumit diadema Pius cum regis honore.
Julius Occeanum transit, victusque recedit.
Que tociens superare suos non desinit hostes,
Nec solita est vinci, sed sola Britannia vincit.

### *Incipit liber tertius.*

Architenens vix Romuleum compleverat annum,
Cum dux decedit. Succedit Brennius illi,
Qui de thesauro quem dux servaverat, et qui
Est ab avis atavisque ducis collectus, in omnes
Large distribuit. Cunctorum acquirit amorem
Muneribus. Vigili cura rectractat apud se
Qualiter in fratrem Belinum vendicet : unde,
Agmine collecto, transit mare. Currit in illum

Belinus, Britonumque cohors, dum semper hanelat
In fratris jugulum. Mater Tonvenua trementi
Se gerit in medium passu; pacemque reformat
Inter eos. Armis ejectis, oscula fratri
Innectit frater; omnes sua tela cohortes
Deponunt; hostis fieri se gaudet amicum.
Pace reformata, fratrem pudet arma tulisse
Contra fraternas acies, junctisque catervis,
In Trinovantum veniunt feliciter urbem.
Illic proponunt sibi Gallica subdere regna.
Inde adeunt Gallos, devastantque Gallica rura.
Nacio Gallorum currit, communis in illos;
Prelia committunt partes. Tandem agmina fratrum
Excedunt Gallos, coguntque relinquere campum
Et dare terga fuge. Fugientes usque sequuntur,
Donec, dispersis Gallis, capiuntur eorum
Reges, et capti coguntur dedicioni.
Inde petunt Romam, percurrunt Ytala regna.
Porsenne Gabyoque subest Romana potestas
Consulibus, quibus ut reges venisse feruntur
Cum tot militibus, pacem, non bella petentes,
Occurrunt illis, portantes plurima dona,
Seque soluturos illis servile tributum
Jurant. Dant fratres veniam pacemque; receptis
Obsidibus, reges adeunt cum laude triumphi
Teutonicos, ut eos ingenti tyrannide vexent.
Penitet interea Romanos federis : unde
Ad Germanorum partem se consul uterque
Transfert. Quod postquam fratrum pervenit ad aures,
Consilio fretus Belini, Brennius urbem

Romuleam festinus adit. Romana juventus
Factum comperiens, Germanica castra relinquit,
Et Romam repetit promissa nocte. Reducens
Agmina, Belinus in vallem qua redituri
Sunt hostes Latii, jacet hic; expectat eorum
Adventum. Veniunt veniente die; ruit omnis
Cautus in incautos; exterritur. Agmen inerme
Armati sternunt Britones; non pugna videtur
Que geritur. Quum ferit hec pars, pars cadit illa.
Dant Fabii sua terga fuge. Belinus eorum
Terga secat gladio, nulla pietate retentus.
Tandem consulibus Latiis nox et fuga prodest.
Belinus vero, postquam victoria tanta
Cessit ei, sequitur fratrem, qui menia Rome
Obsidet, et longa muros indagine cingit.
Se commisceri gaudent collegia fratrum,
Impugnantque urbem. Muros Romana coronant
Agmina; telorum densus cadit undique.
Dum nil proficiunt fratres, perjuria patrum
Obstant obsidibus; quoniam, cernentibus ipsis,
Suspensi laqueis vitam finire pudendo
Funere coguntur, victa pietate paterna.
Urbis amor patres stimulat deffendere muros.
Dum simul intendunt penitus delere Britanni,
Servilique jugo perjuram delere Romam,
Ecce ruit scelerata cohors, quam ducit in hostes
Consul uterque suos. Norrunt vexilla suorum,
Inclusi portas reserant prestantque paratum
Auxilium sociis. Britones nec retro nec ante
Cede carent; nulla via patet qua cedere possint.

At simul attonitis animi rediere Britannis.
Stragem non minimam faciunt, ad milia sternunt
Hostes. Porsenna capto Gabioque perempto,
Diffugiunt Latii, cedes in terga gerentes;
Ingentemque urbem victores ingrediuntur;
Diripiuntur opes quas urbs servarat avara.
Brennius imperii Romani sumit habenas,
Sevicia gerit in cives populumque Quirinum.

Inde suum regnum cum magna laude triumphi
Rex Belinus adit, tractatque in pace Britannos;
Semirutas reficit urbes, legesque paternas
Confirmat. Claram Legionum construit urbem.
Cujus combusti cineres servantur in auro
Lundoniis, in turre nova quam fecerat ipse.

Goruhaudus Barbe-Rubee, non degener heres
Locrini, sumit digne dyadema paternum;
Justicie custos, cultor pietatis, amator
Pacis, deffensor vidue, tutela pupilli,
Hostibus hostis, amicus amicis, fortis in armis,
Vultu conspicuus illustri, corpore magnus,
Consilio cautus, in dando munere largus.
Qui cum vectigal sibi reddere Dacia spernit
Juratum patri, fert egre, transmeat ergo
Ad Dacos et eos sibi subdit, regeque ceso,
Reddere constringit populum servile tributum;
Dumque citis velis victor redit, ecce decem ter
In medio plenis juvenum simul et mulierum
Obviant Occeano ratibus. Rex querit eorum
Adventus causam. Quorum dux transit ad illum,
Et junctis manibus supplex, genibusque reflexis,

Inquit : " Ab Hispanis expulsi finibus, anno
Elapso, mare classe vaga sulcamus, ubi sors
Nos agit errantes. Petimus pronique rogamus
Ut certam partem sit nobis fas habitare
In regione tua. " Precibus ducis annuit. Illis
Insula nacta datur, nullis habitata priorum.
Cumque dies vite regis suprema veniret,
Ille bonis cedit, et in urbe jacet Legionum.
  Guizelinus ei succedit; jura benigne
Regni, dum vivit, tractat; cui Marcia conjunx
Traditur, ingenio pollens, insignis et omni
Arte; novam legem statuit, de nomine cujus
Nomen sortitur. Defuncto rege gubernat
Marcia pacifice regnum; nam filius ejus,
Tantum septenis, Sisillius, ad dyadema
Portandum non est maturus. Marcia vero
Frena regit regni rigide. Postquam sua solvit
Debita nature, juvenis Sisillius illi
Succedit, regnique decus sibi sumit honusque.
  Post illum regnat Kinuuarus, filius ejus.
Damus ei frater succedit; at illum
In regno sequitur Morindus, filius ejus,
Sed non legitime natus. Quo corpore major,
Vel probitate prior, vel largior in tribuendis
Muneribus, nullus toto reperitur in orbe;
Sed nimis indulgens feritati, suffocat omnes
Virtutes alias quibus est laudabilis ipse.
In regnum cujus, magna comitante caterva,
Rex Morianorum sevus venit. Obviat illi,
Innumero Britonum circumdatus agmine. Partes

Prelia committunt. Stragem facit agmen utrumque;
Solus rex Britonum gladio facit in Morianos
Majorem stragem quam cetera turba suorum.
Cedit ei tandem victoria; sevit in hostes
Terga fuge dantes, gladioque suo jubet omnes
Servari; satagensque sue furialiter ire,
In cunctos fertur; cunctorum funera gaudet
Ascribi sibimet. Fera dextra percutiendo
Forte fatigatur; sed mens sitibunda cruoris
Indefessa manet, dum cessat dextera lassa.
Ipse facit propriis spoliari pellibus omnes,
Appositoque jubet spoliatos igne cremari.
Dum vacat in cunctis intento corde furori,
Bellua que regis crudelia vindicet acta,
Exit ab Occeano. Quam cum prope constat adesse,
Magnanimo regi poscit certamen inire,
Solus cum sola. Telis petit exiciale
Monstrum. Consumptis manet hoc sine vulnere telis,
Et regem oppressum mendico devorat ore,
Et quasi pisciculum ventri commendat inani.
Gorbonianus ei succedit, filius ejus
Major, cui fratres sunt quatuor. Equius illo
Nemo regnavit. Restaurat diruta templa,
Et nova plura facit. Superis impendit honorem;
Justitiam servat; vires enervat iniqui;
Agricolas reddit tutos, et furta prophanat,
Et fortes ditat juvenes. Quo preside, pollet
Insula divitiis quantis nec retro nec ante
Claruit. Omnis abest predo; pax regnat ubique.
Tandem de medio sublatus obit; clarisque sepultus

Londoniis, magno tumuli decoratur honore.
 Ardigalo frater succedit Gorboniano,
Fratri dissimilis gestis, ut qui generosos
Opprimit, exaltat infames, divitibusque
Divicias aufert et opes, de rebus eorum
Accumulans. Britonum sibi querit in omnibus iram;
Insurgunt in eum, solioque viriliter illum
Privant, et regem privatc vivere cogunt.
 Illius frater Elidurus regis honore
Post illum potitur; Pius appellatur ob ipsum
Quod fecit cum fratre suo signum pietatis.
Namque sui regni lustro incipiente secundo,
Dum sequitur cervos, frater suus obviat illi
In nemore Archallo. Quo viso, frater in ejus
Se gerit amplexus, repetitaque basia fratris
Imprimit faciem, consolaturque gementem,
Et secum deducit eum talamoque reponit.
Omnibus ignaris facti rex ergo vocatis
Regni principibus, pacemque fidemque reformat
Inter eos, fratremque suum fratrique coactos
Subdit eos, demitque suo dyadema suique
Imponit fratris capiti : Pius inde vocatur.
 Rex novus hinc regnat lustris in pace duobus,
Exercens vite contraria facta priori;
Denique decedit; populoque favente Britanno,
Nomine reque pius Elidurus frena secundo
Assumens regni, bene regnat; sed Paledurus
Ingeniusque, duo regis fratres Eliduri,
Insurgunt in eum, et fratrem deponere temptant,
Et tandem capiunt, et privant regis honore.

Fratribus enim regni divisio facta duobus,
Mors concludit eis; Elydurum tertia regem
Mors facit. In regno post illum Gorboniani
Filius erigitur, patremque immitatur in actu.
Ardigalonis cum Marganus filius ipso
In equo sequitur, omni bonitate decorus;
Post quem sex annis frater suus Ennius ipsum
Regnum detractans, regni privatur honore.
Filius Ingenii post hunc Ytuvallo gubernat
Regnum. Succedit Pereduri filius illi,
Rynio. Pii proles sequitur Gerancius illum.
Succedit Castellus ei; sequiturque Coillus.
Hic habuit natos tres, est Fulgencius uni
Nomen, et Eldanus aliis est, Andragiusque.
Hinc primogenitus regnat Fulgencius; inde
Eldanus regnum post fratris fata gubernat;
Post hunc Andragius, Urianus, Enos, Eliudus,
Rodaldus, Cloteus, Gorhuandus, Merianus,
Bledunus, Capius, Sisillius et Beglabredus.
Hic quum cunctos excellit in arte canendi,
Est joculatorum decus et tutela vocatus.
Post hunc Archinayl, Rodyon, Rodericus, Eldon,
Succedunt, Samul, Pennisel, Piz, Capoyrus.
Isti succedit Dygoellus, filius ejus,
Vir justus, fortis, prudens, pius atque modestus.
Post illum regnat illius filius Hely,
Et lustris octo tractat sine fraude Britannos.
Post obitum cujus Ludh regnat, filius ejus,
Dapsilis, et fortis, et justus, et edificator
Murorum; renovat plures et construit urbes.

Cassibellanus frater succedit eidem,
Quamvis Androgeus, Tenuancius, inclita proles
Hely fratris, regalis attingere culmen honoris
Deberent; tamen id fieri minor impedit etas.
Julius interea, post Gallica regna subacta,
Partis in opposite stans litore, nomine regnum
Prospiciens Britonum, gentis terreque relato
Nomine, sic inquit : " Latios Britonesque fuisse
Ejusdem generis memorat veneranda vetustas;
Sed tamen a nobis distant probitate locoque.
Hortandi cito sunt nobis prestare tributum,
Aut vi cogendi. " Quod cum scripsisset, et ipsi
Mandasset regi, rex indignatus eidem,
Consilio fretus heroum, talia scripsit :
" Roma manus rodens, thesauri dedita tante
Ydropisi, quam nulla phisis tibi tollere novit,
Quid tibi nobiscum? Cur nos tibi subdere temptas?
Ardor avaricie quo naturaliter ardes,
Te stimulat census mundique sitire metalla.
Laudamus Partos, et in hoc absolvimus illos,
Quod Cresus vitam finivit funere digno,
Ore bibens aurum quod corde sitivit avaro.
Attamen Eneas a quo patre ducimus ortum,
Nos facit equales; nulli servivimus unquam,
Nulli paremus, nulli parere tenemur.
Nobilitas eadem nos et vos reddit eosdem
Quos partim superare cupis, partimque subesse.
Cesar, qui ceso nomen trahis istud ab hoste,
Ne quia cederis, sis Cesar : cede Britannis.
An quia subcumbit tibi Gallia victa, superbis,

Quam tam sepe patres nostri domuisse feruntur
Et quandoque tui nostris solvere tributum?"

Cesar ut audivit regis responsa, leone
Sevior irato, nimia succenditur ira;
Navigiumque parat, vento dat vela, Tamensem
Classe petit fluvium. Quem cum venisse refertur
Regi, regni rex armatos convocat omnes.
Princeps milicie regni, regisque nepotes,
Tresque simul reges, procerumque ducumque caterve,
Regis in auxilium properant; cum Cesare bellum
Committunt; hinc inde volant per littora pila,
Cesa cadunt quorum non est numerus morientum
Corpora. Sanguineus altas deducit harenas
In Pelagus torrens, rubeasque facit maris undas.
Dum stat in ambiguo cui martis gloria cedat,
Nennius, innumero stipatus milite, frater
Regis, et Androgeus dispergunt Cesaris agmen.
Nennius et Cesar, arreptis ensibus, alter
Tendit in alterius jugulum; sed Cesaris ensem
Alter ei demit, cujus natura stupenda est,
Nomine mors crocea : quod nomen contigit illi
Cedis ab eventu, quod si quem sauciat, illi
Nulla medela potest vite conferre salutem.
Julius, amisso gladio, fugit; ejus in ipsum
Nennius ense furit; convertunt terga Quirini,
Qui mortis crocee vim norant. Dum fugientes
Insequitur, dum mille cadunt ictuve metuve,
Occurrit Labienus ei, ditatus honoris
Jure tribunicii, cujus capud amputat ense
Nennius. Hinc fugiunt Lacii passim, laceratis

Agminibus, repetuntque suas cum Cesare naves;
Ad Gallos remisque rates velisque feruntur.

Rex igitur victor, superato Cesare letus,
Victorum dispergit opes victoribus eque;
Virtutum titulos declarat dextera dantis.
Sed quia dum ridet, deridet gloria mundi,
Inter letitie plausus vocesque triumphi,
Occupat interior luctus precordia regis;
Nam vulnus letale gerens in pectore frater
Regis, presentis amittit gaudia vite,
Et Tritonantum conditus conditur urbe.
In cujus tumulo tumulatur Cesaris ensis.

Constitit in Gallis Latios rediisse fugatos,
Cesareo sua colla jugo subducere temptant.
Namque putant Britones, fama referente, venire,
Romanosque sequi, tutum quoque classibus equor.
Cesar ut agnovit Gallos sibi bella minari,
Et se post Britonum certamina debilitatum,
Discordes sibi concordat cum plebe potentes,
Large distribuens illi aurum quod avare
Accumulaverat. Exheredatis sua jura
Restituit : timet hos Cesar quibus ipse timori est.
Quam bona libertas! quam detestabilis auri
Argentique fames! Que libera debuit esse
Et potuit, corrupta datis gens Gallica servit.
Cesar letatur Gallis sibi pacificatis;
Corde tamen teritur quociens memoranda retractat
Bella Britannorum, conversaque terga suorum.

Julius, innumero circumdatus agmine, magnum
Transmeat Occeanum. Quem rex Britonum venientem

Comperiens, urbes et diruta menia munit,
Hamatasque sudes prudens affigit in amne
Quo classis Romana venit; firmatque marinos
Portus, ne regnum possint intrare Quirini.
Nec mora, Cesar adest; fluvium petit; in latitantes
Se male fert ignara sudes, classis peritura;
Lesa receptat aquas; impletam ducit in imum
Pondus aque : Latii mortem patiuntur in undis.
Quorum naufragium Cesar cum parte suorum
Eminus aspiciens, ad terram vela retorquet,
Et sic evadit genus hoc miserabile mortis.
Rex vero Britonum, quem visa pericula gentis
Romane letum faciunt, pars salva molestat,
Irruit in Latios. Latiorum turba resistit;
Vulnera dant capiuntque simul. Pars omnis anhelat
Partis in interitum; sed pars Romana minoris
Est numeri, patiturque sui dispendia passim.
Decrescunt semper Latii, Britonumque cohortes
Augentur semper. Quod cum dux ipse videret,
Depuduit dare terga fuge, votoque petitum
Ad Morianorum litus subducere naves.
At victor, victo bis Cesare, pectore toto
Letus diis celi grates impendit, et omnes
Precipit acciri proceres procerumque maritas.
Conveniunt igitur ex omni parte vocati,
Sacrificantque deis tauros niveasque juvencas;
Innumerosque boves mactant, volucresque ferasque
Diversi generis, adolent quoque thuris odorem.
Inde vacant epulis. Ineunt post seria ludos.
Urbs Tritonantum leto tonat undique plausu.

Sed quia successus humani stare tenaci
Non possunt passu, sed eos rota volvit in orbe,
Vertitur in luctum regalis tibia plausus.
Namque duos juvenes, forma prestante, nepotes
Regis et Androgei, nitida certasse palestra
Contigit. Androgei nepos ferit ense nepotem
Regis, eumque neci tradit. Tunc concio tota
Concita turbatur. Regem dolor occupat ingens.
Acciri faciens homicidam, judicat illum
Esse reum mortis; quoniam qui percutit ense,
Ense jubet perimi veteris sacra lectio legis.
Hoc vetat Androgeus. Rex indignatus in ejus
Sevus bachatur igni ferroque ducatum;
Nec prece nec pretio cepta desistit ab ira.
Androgeus nil esse videns quod competat illi,
Cesaris in partem se transfert. Cesar in ejus
Auxilium confisus adit miserabile regnum.
Jam quoque Lundonias obsederat, opida, villas
Ruraque vastarat; sed postquam novit adesse
Cesareas acies hinc inde, necemque subire,
Pugnando cito deserit obsidionem,
Armaque convertit a civibus ejus in hostes.
Sese conspiciunt Latii Britonesque paratos
Ad bellum, votisque petunt committere martem.
Disponunt acies hinc inde, necemque subire
Pugnando cupiunt pocius quam vertere terga.
Omnis abest hinc inde timor; gravis esse videtur
Et dampnosa mora. Turmis pugnare paratis,
Concurrunt acies. Emittunt previa mortis
Spicula; nulla manus torpescit dum tenet ensem.

Aut cadit aut cedit pars utraque; cedere cede
Turpius esse putant. Mortem decus esse triumphi,
Qui cum laude venit, reputant; nec vivere curat
Quis, nisi cui dederit celebrem victoria vitam.
Dum Britones Latios lacerant, Latiique Britannos,
Irruit Androgeus et milia quinque virorum,
Invaditque ferox regem regisque cohortes
A tergo. Quibus ante dabat Romana juventus
Terga, suos fugiunt cives sua terga prementes.
  Quid facis, Androgeu? Que te dementia cogit
In populum sevire tuum? Servire laboras,
Qui fueras dominus; tua te victoria victum
Reddit; dumque tuos superas, te subjicis hosti.
Non tu, sed Cesar curru victore vehetur.
Quo vultu cernes tabulam Britonesque ligatos?
Cesar erit victor, et tota Britannia victa.
Victor, honus pro laude feres, et Cesar honorem.
Ecce tuus frater, Tenuancius, hostibus hostis,
Pugnat pro patria et pro libertate tuenda;
Tu certas ut ferre jugum generosa propago
Addiscat Britonum, reddatque perhenne tributum.
Esto memor Bruti, nec agas contraria Bruto,
Qui libertatem captivis patribus olim
Reddidit, et proprio tribuit de nomine nomen.
  Mons sublimis erat, cujus prerupta cacumen
Saxa coronabant, excelse turris ad instar.
Illic ascendunt Britones, cum rege, cohortes.
Cesar et Androgeus regem Britonesque sequuntur;
Sed rex et Britones, montis fastigia nacti,
Fortiter insistunt; jacentes saxa, sequentes

Precipitant saxis. Sed totum Cesaris ale
Circueunt montem. Nullus patet exitus illis
Obessis; fame Cesar eos consumere gestit.
Quod rex intendens, scribit mittitque nepoti
Talia verba suo cum precedente salute :
" Care nepos, miserere mei, miserere tuorum;
Parce tue patrie; mihi fac cum Cesare pacem.
Nos fame devicti submitti cogimur hosti. "
   Androgeus, postquam regalis littera lecta est,
Sic ait : " In bello pietas, in pace tyrannis,
Utraque culpanda est. Quam recte, numina celi,
Omnia disponitis! Patruus meus ecce precatur
Quam dare contempsit veniam mihi. Cesaris orat
Pace frui, cujus pacem prius ipse rogabat
Cesar. Debuerat igitur me rex revereri,
Qui dare terga fuge dextra victrice coegi
Cesareas acies. Decuit perpendere regem
Hos quos victores feci me reddere posse
Victos; quos vici, versa vice, reddere posse
Victores. Non ego fui tractandus inique.
Est stolidus princeps, qui per quos ipse triumphat
Et per quos regnat caros, infestat ut hostes.
Sed quoniam supplex pacem veniamque precatur,
Tractabo jam de regis ego cum Cesare pace. "
Cesaris inde pedes amplexus, postulat illum
Ut tribuat regi veniam, sumatque tributum.
Cesar vix motus precibus ducis, annuit illi.
   O rex infelix! quid agis? Pax Cesaris omni
Est nece deterior, et peste molestior omni.
Hanc tua posteritas pacem merebit in evum,

Imponet pax ista jugum servile futuris.
Cesaris et regis firmata pace, tributi
Taxato numero, cujus tria milia summa est
Marcharum argenti, tunc nostra Britannia primum
Addiscit portare jugum dominumque timere.
Vere novo, Cesar, collectis undique turmis,
Tendit in Ytaliam. Confundit fasque nephasque;
Contra communem bellum gerit utilitatem;
Pompeyo fugiente, sibi vis vindicat omne.
At postquam Tytan septem compleverat annos,
Cassibellanus nature debita solvit.
Succedit dux Cornubie Tenuancius illi;
Nam dux Androgeus ierat cum Cesare Romam.
Kybelinus ei succedit, filius ejus,
Quem prius Augustus Rome nutriverat, armis
Munierat, donis ditaverat. Unde Quirinos
Diligit in tantum, quod cum retinere tributum
Nec dare Romanis possit, sine murmure reddit.

## GESTORUM REGUM BRITANNIÆ

### LIBER QUARTUS.

---

*Incipit quartus liber.*

Quartus ab Augusto cepit; factoque per orbem
Edicto, natoque sacra de virgine Christo,
Pacificat nova nupta suum cum patre maritum.
Rusticus intrusus vi regnat, rege perempto.
Lucius in Christum credit, Christoque dicatas
Ecclesias dotat; distinctas ordinat urbes.
Rex Constantinus sceptrum tenet imperiale.
Jura bis assumit Octavius, et gener ejus
Armoricam superat terram, mutatque ducatum
In regnum. Regnat Conanus primus in illo.

Dum Kibelino subjecta Britannia servit,
Augustus Cesar sceptrum gerit imperiale,
Edictoque dato totus describitur orbis.
Christus homo natus cepit carnaliter esse.
Qui sine principio, qui principium sine fine,
Et tamen est finis ad quem spes omnis hanelat;
Quem virgo peperit, genitorem filia, florem
Arida virga novum, qui contulit ariditati
Nostre fructiferum florem partus tamen ejus.
Unde sui partus nescit natura; stupetque

Angelus inferni, quoniam nil invenit illic
Mortali simile, nil quod corrumpere possit.
Quo veniente venit completio temporis : hic est
Sanctus sanctorum, regum Rex. Unctio cessat
Ejus in adventum, quem Sanctus Spiritus unxit.
Hic est Messias quem predixere prophete,
Sol sub nube latens, eclipsis nescius, et lux
In tenebris lucens, nullis obscura latebris,
Ignis non urens, ignisque in nocte columpna.
Hic verus Moyses sicco pede per Mare Rubrum
Duxit iter, subiens crucis aram sanguine fuso.
Jordanem primus Moyses non transiit; iste
In Jordanis aqua nostrum scelus abluit. Ille
Egyptum populo Domini spoliavit; at iste,
Infernum penetrans, inferni federa rupit.
Ille Dei servos ad terram melle fluentem
Ducere non potuit, preventus morte; fideles
Iste suos duxit secum, fecitque perhenni
Pace frui, faciemque Dei sine fine videre.
At Kybelino lustris regnante duobus,
Insula divitiis et larga pace resultat.
Jamque duos juvenes generarat, nomina quorum
Guider et Arviragus. Guider, post funera patris,
Frena regit regni rigide, prohibetque tributum
Reddi Romanis. Confestim Claudius illuc
Cesar ducit iter, cum quo venit impiger Hamo,
Milicie princeps, Britones vexare parati.
Cesaris adventum fama referente, Britannos
Ducit in occursum Latiorum Guider, eosque
Strenuus invadit. Rex solus vulnera plura

Infert Romanis, quam maxima pars sociorum.
Claudius ergo videns non posse resistere regi
Romanas acies, naves in litore stantes
Victus adit. Dispersa fugit Romana juventus.
Cum sua versutus deponit bellicus Hamo
Arma sibi, sumitque Britannica; cumque Britannis
Insequitur Latios. Demum mucrone soluto
Interimit regem; partem petit inde suorum.
Protinus Arviragus regis celer induit arma,
Hortaturque suos prosternere fortiter hostes.
Fortiter insistunt; credentes vivere regem,
Sternuntur Lacii. Cesar cum parte suorum
Litus adit navesque suas. At Lelius Hamo
Ad nemorum secreta fugit. Sequitur fugientem
Turba Britannorum; ruit huc illucque; ruentem
Occupat Arviragus, ejusque in margine ripe
Amputat ense caput. Nomen tenet inde perempti
Hamonis portus, longumque tenebit in evum.
   Claudius interea, revocatis viribus, urbem
Obsidet atque capit cujus Porcestria nomen;
Arviragumque citis vestigat gressibus, urbem
Guintoniam ingressum, quem circumstantibus alis
Obsidet. Innumeras jaciunt hinc inde sagittas,
Grandine plura volant mortis prenuncia pila,
Bellica securos impellit machina muros.
Quod rex intuitus, equitum peditumque catervas
Dividit in turmas, et, apertis undique portis,
Egressi Britones Romanis bella minantur.
Claudius ergo, timens regem gentemque ferocem,
Extimat utilius sibi pacem regis habere,

Quam subiti dubium belli certamen inire;
Unde sub hac forma discordes unio pacis
Alligat. Efficitur subjecta Britannia Rome.
Arvirago Genuissa datur sacra Cesare conjunx.
Claudius inde redit Romam, potiturque triumpho.
Condidit Ecclesiam tunc temporis Antiochenam
Petrus; et inde petens Romam decoratur honore
Pontificis, decoratque suam, se preside, sedem.
Destinat ad Pharios Marcum, qui predicat illis,
Voce leonina, post mortem vivere Christum.
Arviragus vero regnum regnique propinquas
Pacifice terras regit, et pollere vigore
Et sensu cepit. Urbes, castella domosque
Edificat, legesque novas et principe dignas
Condit. Cuncta videns sibi subcessisse, superbit,
Juratumque negat Romanis solvere censum.
Claudius, audita re gesta, Vespasianum
Dirigit in Britones. Missus cum milite multo,
Applicat in portu Rutupi. Rex ocius aura
Hostibus occurrens, collatis denegat armis
Introitum regni Latiis; Latiique repulsi
Carbasa dant Euro, qui classem flamine recto
Ad litus Totonense trahit. Tunc Vaspesianus
Obsidet Exoniam. Rex Arviragus cuneique
Innumeri Britonum tendunt illuc, Latiosque
Fortiter invadunt. Latiorum turba repugnat.
Nemo referre potest quot corpora sunt in eodem
Interfecta die. Nulli victoria parti
Cessit ibi, donec exorta luce sequenti
In medium Genuissa stetit pacis mediatrix,

Cum Latiis Britones sedans, cum patre maritum.
Hinc repetunt Latium Latii, regnumque gubernat
Arviragus sine lite suum; sine fraude senatum
Tractat Romanum. Cana veniente senecta,
Mens regis viget interior, quam scrior etas
Non premit; apparet in cano vis juvenalis.
Post obitum cujus Marius diadema paterni
Regni suscipiens, Romanos cepit amare,
Illis exactum solvens sine lite tributum.
  Filius ejus ei Coilus succedit, et actus
Illius innocuos imitans, sine crimine regnat.
Inde patri Coilo succedit Lucius, orto
Lucifero prelucidior; nam lucet in ejus
Tempore vera fides, errorum nube fugata.
Quod simul audierat Christi vulgasse clientes
Verbum incarnatum, regem de virgine natum,
In cruce defunctum, vita post funera functum,
Scribit Eleutherio dictamina talia pape :
" Sancte pater patrum, me turbant traditiones
Que plures fecere deos pluresque penates,
Quique creatori res preposuere creatas.
Ydola plena dolo reor esse. Potentia celi
Non est in lignis; Demon respondet in illis
Vana suis membris. Deus est et trinus et unus,
A quo, per quem, in quo sunt omnia. Gloria, virtus,
Laus et honor sit ei soli per secula cuncta!
Uniat ergo Deo Christi nos unio, tanquam
Membra suo capiti. Sacri baptismatis unda
Postulo mundari, conformarique creatum
Plasma Creatori. Male pars committitur omnis

A toto diversa suo : te deprecor ergo
Ut mittas aliquos in Christi lege peritos
Ad partes vestras, qui me populumque Britannum
Informent mundentque sacri baptismate fontis. "
Est igitur regis audita peticio digna;
Namque duos mittit presul sanctissimus illuc
Doctores fidei, qui sacri gurgitis unda
Devotum mundant regem regisque ministros.
Exemplo verborum vocant ad premia vite
Tocius regni populum, verique lavacri
Unda purificant; et phana prophana deorum
Sancta Deo sanctisque ditant, traduntque probatis
Illa colenda viris Christumque fidemque professis.
Assignant urbes vingenti et octo sacratis
Presulibus totidem; sed submittunt tribus illos
Archipresulibus. Pars subjacet Eboracensi,
Cum sibi commissis populis; pars Londoniensi,
Pars Legionensi. Sic disjuncta regione,
Doctores Romam repetunt. Confirmat eorum
Dictus apostolicus factum. Sunt idem reversi
Cum sanctis aliis, quorum doctrina fideles
Reddit et informat in Christi lege Britannos.
Lucius interea, regnum lucere corusca
Luce nove fidei gaudens, convertit in usus
Ecclesie, que templa prius tenuere deorum.
Ex octoginta subductis quatuor annis
Post incarnatum celesti semine Verbum,
Lucius ethereas letus secessit in auras;
Et quia decessit sine prole, Britannia Major
Rege carens, spernit Romanis solvere censum.

Curia magnanimum mittit Romana Severum
In Britones, pariterque duas equitum legiones,
Qui partem regni capiunt. Fulgencius illis
Magnaque pars procerum pro libertate resistunt;
Et quandoque fugant Britones, quandoque fugantur.
Nunc perimunt Lacios, nunc et perimuntur ab illis.
Tandem dux nequiens Fulgencius arma Severi
Ferre, Citas Pictosque adiens, implorat eorum
Auxilium; quod et impetrat. Inde reversus in hostes,
Innumeras ducit acies, castrisque locatis
Obsidet Eboracum. Velox petit obsidionem
Turba Quirinorum. Comitatus dux utriusque
Disponit cuneos, ineunt certamina partes.
Nullus arare stilo quot reddidit agrum utrumque
Exicio posset. Dux occidit ense Severus,
Et letale gerit vulnus Fulgencius in se.
Inde super regni lis diademateque mota est;
Namque duos juvenes, proles preclara Severi,
Quorum nomina sunt : Basianus, matre Britanna,
Et Geta, Romana geniti, quis regnet eorum
Certant; Basianum Britones, Romana laborat
Turba Getam, toti regno proponere regem.
Cum frater fratri contemnat cedere, cumque
Sic paris impaciens subeunt examina martis,
Proponunt gladiis Lacii, Britonesque cruentis
Ensibus excipiunt. Laciis concluditur armis,
Et pro Basiano Mavors sentenciat ipsum,
Contempnendo Getam, quem cum parte suorum
Occumbit Geta dux. Potitur diademate frater.
 Quo regnante virum media de plebe creatum,

Magnanimum fortemque tamen Fortuna levavit;
Nam circumveniens simulato corde senatum,
Impetrat ut Britonum fines et litora tuta
Reddat ab incursu vicinorumque rapina.
Congregat innumeras naves, sociat sibi regni
Electos juvenes, et bella piratica toto
Exercet pelago, vicinaque littora vastat,
Et loca litoribus contermina. Nulla pavore
Axe sub occiduo caret, insula nulla tueri
Ejus ab incursu se sufficit; opida, villas,
Urbes, rura suis opibus spoliat, spoliisque
Conspoliatores ditat, ditesque manipli
Invitant alios quorum mens res alienas
Usurpare sibi est; tot habet tantasque phalanges,
Quod cunctos superans superari a nemine possit.
Est illi nomen Carausius inclitus actis.
Inde tumet festusque parit, sociumque recusat
Mens elata viri, que, originis immemor unde
Existat natus, ad regni culmen anhelat.
Jamque leves animos Britonum corrumpit, ut ipsum
Instituant regem, Basiano rege perempto.
Intrusus regnat, se regnum rege prophanans.
Que simul agnovit Romanus gesta senatus,
Destinat Allectum, committens tres legiones
Illi, qui mortem Basiani morte tyranni
Vindicet, et Rome, posita feritate, Britannos
Restituat, cogitque vetus prestare tributum.
Inde Britannorum, lactanti sevior ursa,
Invehitur populos, obstantes demetat ense,
Regemque intrusum perimens intrudit in orcum.

Hinc regni regimen sibi suscipit, opprimit omnes
Sub pedibus Britones, qui, tacti felle doloris,
Asclepiodotum decorant diademate regis;
Innumeraque acie procerum stipatus, in arma
Allicit Allectum patriis diis sacrificantem.
Londoniis audita novi collegia regis
Admirans exit, infestaque arma relinquit.
Ecce duo regni reges, unius ad instar
Fulminis, occurrunt. It tantus ad astra boatus
Et fragor armorum, quales quantosque tumultus
Collise nubes emisso fulmine reddunt.
Pluribus occisis, hinc inde Quirina pudende
Pars sua terga fuge committit; sed fugientem
Turba fugat Britonum, gladiis pars magna Quiritum
Occumbit cum rege suo; pars vero superstes,
Gallo college defuncti regis adherens,
Intrat Londonias; muros perimunt et arces.
Asclepiodotus rex clausam circuit urbem,
Allectique necem, quesitum marte triumphum,
Obsessos Lacios, ducibus populisque remotis
Nunciat, utque sibi succurrant voce precatur
Supplice. Demedeti, Deiri, Scoti, Venedoti,
Et plures alii veniunt, ad bella vocati.
Tot tantasque videns rex confluxisse catervas,
Reddit eis grates, et talia verba profatur :
" O veteris Priami proles, Brutique nepotes,
Este, precor, memores que sitis stirpe creati.
Libera nobilitas genuit vos, condicione
Servitis misera : libertas vestra petatur
Ex hac urbe, manus disrumpent vincula vestre

Que vos innodant, obstantes sternite muros."
Plura loquturum prohibent vocesque tubeque,
Et clangor lituum. Totam velociter urbem
Circueunt; jaciunt Romani pila, Britanni
Tela; sagittarum nimbo fit nubilus aer.
Nec magonelli desunt, nec machina belli.
Diversi generis mortem balista propinat;
Talpa fodit muros, quos crebro verberat ictu,
Dissolvitque arces. Lacii nil proficientes,
Jamque urbem captam, jam menia strata videntes,
Ignorant quid eis sit agendum; denique poscunt
Indigni veniam. Quam dum poscunt, Venedoti,
Intrantes urbem, gladiis ultoribus omnes
Obsessos perimunt, et in ampne cadavera jactant.
Interea Christi laniante Diocletiano
Membra, fere Petri navis submergitur infra
Occeani claustrum, quam Lucius atque sequaces
Ejus reddiderant in eorum tempore tutam.
Illius imperium cunctas quas insula sanctas
Ecclesias habuit, subvertit Maximianus,
Scripturasque sacras positas combussit in igne,
Et totum regni clerum populumque fidelem
Occidit; petit ipsa tamen pars dignior astra.
Guttura suffocans, hominem non suffocat illum
Qui viget internis. Paciuntur corpora penas,
Nomina sanctorum vivunt in pace perhenni;
Cum quibus Albanus, Aaron et Julius, urbis
Preclari cives Legionum, corpora ferro
Et celis animas reddentes, ense tyranni
Supplicium passi, celesti pace fruuntur.

Inde Goel, cui clara duci Colocestria paret,
Asclepiodotum commisso mente peremit,
Assumpsitque sibi regni diadematis usum,
[Letificat regis mors hec audita senatum]
Et totum imperium. Constancius ergo senator
Mittitur in Britones, ut jura resarciat urbi
Perdita Romulee, sicut subjecerat ante
Esperios Rome. Cujus narrante Goeli
Adventum fama, rex pugnaturus in ejus
Se gerit occursum, non armis, sed pace; non vi,
Sed pacis signo; ramum virentis olive
In dextra gestans, Romano subicit illum
Imperio regnum. Sic pacis munere fretus,
Uno mense regit; tandem mors dividit illum.
Ossa premit tellus, petit ethera spes ejus.
Defuncti patris Helene sanctissima proles,
Unita, prestanti facie, prelata puellis
Occidue plage, sapiens, facunda, chorusca
Artibus ingenuis, signata caractere Christi,
Grata Deo servisque Dei, data gratia ministris
Contulit altaris : hoc est que dicitur olim
Invenisse crucem Domini, tradentibus illi
Judeis. Judam qui factum noverat, illam
Ducit in uxorem Constancius, et diadema
Assumpsit regale simul, lustrisque duobus
Rexit, et unius spacio non amplius anni
De medio sublatus obit. Suus inclitus heres,
Constantinus ei succedit, qui puer annis,
Mente senex, hostes enervat, ditat amicos.
Pax secura viget, pacisque domestica jura;

Predo, latro, fur illo regnante quiescunt.
Presidet imperio Maxencius, hostis amicis,
In cives predo, siccarius in generosos,
In commune malus, pejor sibi, peximus illi
Cui nichil occultum; jus naturale per illum
Et civile perit; sua predia, tecta, laresque
Aufert nobilium. Exheredata juventus
Ad Constantini fugit auxilium. Fugientem
Rex recipit, veneratur, amat, proponit amicis.
Quamvis divicias melioraque predia primi
Possideant, teneantque gradus a rege secundos,
Ipsa tamen patrii dulcedo cespites illos
Tangit, et angit amor, ut dicant talia regi :
" Inclite rex, cujus totum vulgata per orbem
Fama volat, cui se totus subponere mundus
Expetit, imperium princeps detractat iniquus :
Sicque vacat tibi sume vacans, tibi sume voventem
Te dominum Romam, nec bella movere necesse est.
Gratus ades gratis, cape sceptrum quod tibi grates
Ut capiatur agit; populo gratare Quirino,
Qui tibi gratatur, tibi mundi jura daturus.
Uxores, pueros, fratres carosque parentes
Restituas nobis. " Precibus devictus eorum
Romam adiens, illam sibi subjugat : hinc sibi mundi
Primatum subicit, et eodem principe gaudet.
Jamque Johelinum, Marium, fortemque Trahernum,
Quorum neptis erat Helene sanctissima mater,
Ipse senatores Romane fecerat urbis.
Interea Rome dum tota Britannia servit,
Consilio procerum dux est Octavius usus

Tocius regni diademate. Roma Trahernum
Destinat huc, et tres legiones ad reprimendum
Seviciam regis, et regnum restituendum
Romano juri. Mira virtute Trahernus
Insignis, Britones adit; urbes, opida, rura,
Occupat, occurrit, properans Octavius illi.
Prelia committunt, Romana fugata recedunt
Agmina de campo, litus navesque requirunt.
Albanos adeunt, Albanica rura domosque
Devastant. Tendit illuc Octavius, illic
Subcumbit, regnumque simul diademaque perdit.
Norguegia admittit expulsum frigida regem,
Et rex Hubertus; sumit diadema Trahernus.
Nec mora, depositi regis non fictus amicus,
Securum perimit inopina cede Trahernum.
Ad regni regimen rediens Octavius idem
Est successoris successor, more novato.
Excludit Lacios, cepit probitate vigere.
Tantas argenti massas coacervat et auri,
Quod nullos metuens fit cunctis ipse timori.
Denique confectus senio, disponere regno
Et populo de rege volens, interrogat omnes
Quem sibi preferri cupiant. Pars una nepotem
Regis, Conanum, dignum diademate censent;
Altera pars illum cui nupserit unica regis
Filia, namque caret rex sexus prole virilis;
Cum dux Cornubie Caradocus Maximianum,
Patre Johelino, Romana matre creatum,
Qui regale genus a stipite tangit utroque,
Asserit utilius ad regni amplustre vocari.

Filius inde ducis Caradoci, corpore magnus,
Mente tamen major, facundo maximus ore,
Mauricius, nutu patris, Romam petit; ipsum
Demulcens verbis, adduxit Maximianum
Ad regnum Britonum. Stipatus milite multo,
Gallorum sibi sumit opes; divesque recedens
Applicat ad portum Hamonis, mordet harenas;
Anchora litus adit, illic tentoria tendit
Et reficit socios. Conani rumor ad aures
Evolat, adventum referens alienigenarum.

Congregat ergo duces regionis, rege jubente,
Et regni proceres. Veniunt pugnare parati,
Romanasque acies adeunt. Quos Maximianus
Prospiciens, metuit quem numerumque virorum;
Seviciamque timens, dubitat sibi quid sit agendum,
Cum sic Mauricius : " Non armis hic opus esse,
Sed verbis video; nec ad arma gerenda venimus;
Blandiciis, non mente, decet temptare Britannos.
Dulcibus ergo ducem verbis, si precipis, utens,
Aggrediar, cauteque animum sedabo ferocem. "
Dixit, et assumit secum bis sex seniores,
Pacifereque manu ramum pretendit olive.
Agminibus gravi processu turba senilis
Obviat armatis. Venerantes agmen inerme
Armati, causeque vie, patrieque relato
Nomine, credentes fictis sermonibus, illos
Ante ducem statuunt, quem ficta voce salutant.
Dux affatur eos : " Quis vos huc attulit error?
Aut que vos duxit demencia? Creditis istud
Rege carere solum? non est sine preside presens

Insula. Nos Rome submittere multis avare?"
Sic ait, et vultus pretendit principe dignos.
Nec mora, Mauricius suppressa silencia rumpens,
Explicat hec paucis : "Nec abest facundia fictis.
Regia progenies, Romanis Maximianus
Parens principibus, partes pervenit ad istas
Ut nostro regi mandatum narret eorum.
Contra Conanus sic excipit : "Hunc ducis esse
Constat Castrensis ritum tot habere maniplos,
Et non legati. Romani fraude doloque,
Cum nequeunt armis, didicerunt vincere semper."
Mauricius replicat : "Nulli dubitabile Gallos
Suspectos Laciis a tempore Cesaris esse
Suspicor; unde timens merito dux noster eorum
Insidias, secum socios, in pace quietos,
In bello fortes, duxit. Nec debuit ire
Tante fame vir inglorius; adde quod ex quo
Navibus egressi partes intravimus istas,
Nullis obfuimus, nullis molimur obesse.
Dux igitur noster, vestro de sanguine natus,
Pacificus veniens pacem, non prelia poscit."
Inductu procerum, quamvis invitus eundi,
Ad regem dat iter Laciis Conanus, eosque
Ducit Londonias. Caradoci Mauriciique
Consilio, regisque assensu, Maximiano
Filia regalis cum regno traditur uxor.
Conanus turbatus ob id turbare laborat
Regem cum regno; ferro supponit et igni
Oppida, rura, domos, cum rex incurrit in illum,
Non minimam stragem faciens, paciensque vicissim.

Tandem candida pax celi descendit ab arce,
Concordesque facit quos fecerat ambitus hostes.
Inde suos rex quinque regens feliciter annis,
Inmensas auri gazas cumulavit et eris :
Unde superbivit. De regni partibus omnes
Naves collegit omnes, armisque virisque
Fortibus implevit; velisque tumentibus Euro,
Venit ad Armoricam terram, quam tunc habitabat
Gallica gens; Minor est nunc dicta Britannia. Gallos
Invadunt Britones, dux et ter quinque virorum
Milia cesa jacent; Galli post prelia multa
Nudati propriis, fugiunt, aliena sequentes.
Rex igitur, tot stagna videns, tot prata, tot ampnes,
Tot saltus, tot agros, tot litora, tot nemorosa
Robora, tot frutices, tot fontes, omnia laudat;
Cernere delectat loca, Conanoque seorsum
Ducto subridens inquit : " Bello superata,
Presens terra dabit nobis iter ad superandum
Gallorum fines. Tellus fecundior ista
Nulla sub axe jacet, aut fortibus apcior istud.
Istud trado tibi, regnumque te regente regetur. "
Dux capud inclinat regi, gratesque rependit,
Et fidum se jurat ei dum vivat uterque.
Inde petit Redonim, quam jam custode carentem
Intrat; nam cives, Britonum feritate relata,
Terga fuge dederant. Sic hanc et cetera castra
Urbesque et villas sine vi, sine lite, capescunt.
Rex jubet occidi sexus quoscumque virilis
Dependant socii, conservarique puellas.
Occisis Gallis, regionis tocius urbes

Et castella suis tradit servanda maniplis.
Interea Major mandante Britannia rege
Centum milia plebanorum equitumque decem tria
Milia mittit ad has partes cultore carentes,
Ut tueantur eas, habitentque, regnentque, colentque.
Rex igitur regnum, populo pollere Britanno
Gaudens, Armoricum Conano tradit, eumque
Promovet in regem, nomenque novat regionis,
Respectuque Minor est dicta Britannia Magne.
O regnum minime felix! o sanguine fuso
Optentum regale decus! Conane, resina
Hoc jus injustum. Prescriptio nulla tueri
Te poterit, quum dum vixeris, intus habebis
Accusatricem, que te tuosque nepotes
Semper mordebit. Non debet predo reatum,
Dum tenet ablatum? Res semper erit viciosa,
Que venit ex rapto, dum raptam predo tenebit;
Predonisque heres, postquam rem novit ademptam,
In vitium succedit ei. Tecum tua proles
Verget in interitum, penam luitura perhennem
Dum sic possideat juncte res alienas.
In sobolem peccata patrum de jure redundant.
Dum soboles effrena patrum peccata sequatur,
Quis putet intrusos Britones vel semen eorum
In male quesitis cum pace quiescere terris?
Eventus quis habere bonos se credat in illis
Que male parta tenet? Meritis Deus eque rependit.
Stirps homicidarum totis homicidaque votis
Perpatrare studens, reputat dispendia pacem.
Cortinam cortina trahit, sanguisque cruorem.

Inconstans Britonum populus constanter in ipsa
Mobilitate viget; nunquam Ramissia virgo
Mobiliore rota fertur quam spes ejus.
O regio! tibi nunc rex presidet, ante ducatus
Aut comitatus ejus; non regnum sive ducatus,
Sed comitatus eris tu qui ducibus dominaris.
Cum servis domino continget te dominari.
Ecce dies venient quibus ad sua jura reducti,
Tristia sub pedibus Galli tua colla tenebunt.

# GESTORUM REGUM BRITANNIÆ

## LIBER QUINTUS.

---

*Incipit quintus liber.*

Quintus ad imperium sublimat Maximianum.
Regnum rege carens devastat barbarus hostis.
Missus ab Armorica rex regnum salvat ab hoste.
Contra jus regnat monachus, successit eidem
Proditor. Armoricum fratres adeunt duo regem.
Dux adit Engistus, quem suscipit. Ille triumphat,
Castellum condit; regi sua filia nubit.
Filius excludit patrem, perit ille veneno.
Regnat item genitor, gener hunc incarcerat ille.
Condere castellum captat, frustraque laborat.
A numeris vero collectis Maximianus
Militibus cursu Gallos adit et sibi subdit,
Germanosque cito Romanis inde minatur
Prelia principibus; Romano nam duo presunt
Imperio, quorum sunt nomina dissona metro.
Marteque commisso fugit unus, et occidit alter.
Interea Galli nimia feritate feruntur
Contra Conanum; Conanus mente feroci
Armoricum regnum deffendit et effugat hostes;
Cumque carere suos uxoribus ipse videret,
Regi Cornubie, cui tota Britannia Major

Commissa est, scribens, Dyonoto mandat ut ipse
Armoricis nimphas generosas et mediocres
Destinet uxores. Paret, classem parat, illam
Implet virginibus, dat nautica carbasa ventis,
Litus ad Armoricum tendit. Contrarius Euro
Missus ab Eoliis equor movet turbidus Auster.
Obruit unda rates, pereunt cum classe puelle;
Pars tamen illarum, rabie rabiente procelle,
Fertur in hostiles, agmen miserabile, terras.
Guanius has et Melga neci, vel forte pudendo
Tradunt servicio; qui toto corde faventes
Principibus Laciis, fautores Maximiani
Acriter infestant. Hiis Britannia Major
Subcumbit, quam vires subtraxerat illis
Armoricos adiens jam pridem Maximianus.
Qui jam Romano magna probitate subacto
Presidet imperio; sed postquam dira suorum
Est audita lues, propriam vix sustinet iram.
Destinat ergo virum, dederat cui gracia nomen,
Ad Britonum fines, equitumque duas legiones.
Collatis igitur armis, de finibus illis
Excludunt hostes, et firma pace Britannos
Letari faciunt. Pax est et plausus ubique.
Idem legatus, post mortem Maximiani,
In regno succedit ei, tractatque maligne
Subjectum populum. Populus subtristis anhelat
In mortem regis; tandem cadit ense suorum.
Guanius et Melga redeunt, urbesque Britannas
Igne cremant, delere vacant lacrimabile regnum.
Insula Romulee devote supplicat Urbi

Ut sibi mittat opem. Legionem Roma Britannis
Mittit in auxilium. Lacii Britonumque cohortes
Expellunt hostes cedes in terga gerentes.
Inter et Albanos Deirosque labore stupendo
Extendunt murum, facilis ne forte pateret
Hostibus introitus regni. Romana recedit
Et Romam repetit legio. Redit ante fugata
Hostilis rabies, muro tenus omnia vastat.
  Rustica plebs Britonum murum defendere temptat;
Sed quia formido semper comitatur agrestes,
Ascendendo pigri, defendendo pigriores,
Cum possent telis hostes expellere, ponunt
In sola sua terga. Fugant timor et tremor illos,
Desperare probat; vultus pallere videres
Et trepidare manus, certa argumenta pavoris.
Nec mora, terga fuge prebent, terreque cavernas
Aut nemorum querunt latebras; hostilia murum
Agmina deiciunt, per mille foramina regnum
Incurrunt tutore carens; furit ignis et ensis.
Rura suis cum ruricolis, cum civibus urbes
Una depereunt; nulli sua proficit etas.
Lactentes matresque simul, juvenesque, senesque,
Occumbunt gladio : nulli sua munera prosunt
Ecclesie, clerum reverencia nulla tuetur.
Agracius, consul Romanus, ferre recusat
Auxilium positis in tanta strage Britannis.
  Cum Guizelinus, antistes Londoniensis,
Transmeat Occeanum, regni petit Armoricani
Aldrogeum regem, qui regno presidet illi,
Quartus post primum Conanum; suppliciterque

Orat opem presul, regni rege carentis
Suscipiat regimen, quod barbarus occupat hostis.
Aldrogeus sic inquit ei : " Nos undique Galli
Assidue vexant. Nostrum deffendere regnum
Sanius esse reor, dubio quam querere mente
Per mare, per terras regnum quod possidet hostis;
Sed ne subjaceat illud sine vindice regnum
Barbarico juri, duo milia sume virorum,
Quos cum fratre meo Constantino tibi trado. "
Presul agit grates, Constantinoque vocato
Subridens inquit : " Salve, juvenis! tibi virtus
Christi, qui superat, qui regnat et imperat, adsit!
Ecce decus nostri, spes et defensio regni. "
Nec mora, classe viris impleta, nauta repenti
Carbasa dat Zephiro; litus Totonense repente
Navigio tegitur. Egressi navibus hostes
Impugnare parant, Britonum tamen ante vocato
Qui superest populo. Conserto mente fugata,
Barbara gens dat terga fuge, regnumque relinquit.
Undique conveniunt Britones, quos barbarus hostis
Sparserat, et capiti Constantini diadema
Regale imponunt. Uxor quoque traditur illi,
Ex Romanorum generoso sanguine nata,
Quam Guizelinus nutrierat. Huic oriuntur
Tres pueri, quorum *Constans, Ambrosius, Uther*
Nomina sunt. Constans monachatur, patre jubente.

Interea quidam Pictus, mucrone soluto,
Interimit regem famulus nil tale timentem.
Conveniunt igitur proceres, igitur de substituendo
Rege simul tractant, cum Vortigernus ad ipsum

Constantem tendit monachum, mortemque parentis
Nunciat ejus ei, dicens : " Cur veste sub atra
Hic latitas? Regnum vacat, et succedere patri
Te faciam, si forte, meis parere paratus
Consiliis, augere velis mea jura, tibique
Sim propior cunctis, nostrum dum vivat uterque. "
Sic fore constanter Constans promittit, idemque
Promissum jurat. Monachali veste remota,
Induitur regale decus, vix dante Britanno
Assensum populo; regni diademate fulget,
Quod Vortigernus, spreto moderamine juris,
Illius imposuit capiti; nam Londoniensis
Presul, cujus erat hoc jus, decesserat. Alter
Pontificum non audet eum diademate regis
Insignire, quia monachus votumque professus
In regem, contra votum, non debet inungi.
  O puer inconstans, qui, falso nomine, Constans
Diceris, ad claustrum redeas habitumque resumas,
Et sanctum votum teneas! Regalia demas
Ornamenta tibi; nam te decet hyspida vestis,
Non regale decus. Dicens Psalmista : " ovete, "
" Reddite continuo " dixit; nec te resilire
A voto decuit, propria levitate reductum.
Ecce dies instat quo te viciasse pigebit
Sanctum propositum, dum te proponere regno
Proditor intendit; nam te deponere temptat. "
  Rex igitur Constans, quem non constantia mentis
Erigit in regem, nec vires corporis ipsum
Detractat, regni tocius habenas
Dat Vortigerno, tantum sibi regis inani

Nomine servato; sed et hoc amittere dignus.
Traditor ergo videns monachalem simplicitatem
In vultu regis, ad regni culmen anhelat;
Sed prius argentum fisci regalis et aurum
Abscondit sub clave sua, custodibus urbes
Et regni castella suis committit operta.
Fraude metum simulans, regi mentitur in ejus
Regnum venturos tam Pictos quam Venedotes;
Proditor ut satagat sic concepte prodicioni,
Hiis verbis bibulas Constantis inebriat aures.
"Rex illustris, ait, Picti tibi bella minantur,
De quibus optato poteris gaudere triumpho.
Pictorum auxiliis famulos tibi sume fideles
Ex Pictis aliquos, qui fraudem fraude repellant."
Palliat ergo dolum fidei sub nube, vocatque
Regis in auxilium centum Pictos famulosque,
Et commensales ejus facit, hac tamen arce
Ut quorum instabiles animos avidosque cruoris
Noverat, instimulet in regis fata clientes.
Allicit inde leves diverso munere mentes
Et sibi connectit, et eorum invitat amorem;
Potibus assiduis versutus inebriat illos.
Ebria turba ducem commendans psallit et inquit :
"Est Vortigernus dignus diademate, sceptro
Dignus et imperio; Constans indignus honore."
Quadam nocte viros imbutos munere Bacchi
Sic dux alloquitur, lacrimis super ora profusis :
"Marcia gens, cujus probitas vulgata per orbem
Hostibus est terror, cujus nichil obviat ausis,
Cui fas omne nephas, ad cujus nitor honorem,

Cujus opes augere meum semper fuit estque
Propositum, si forte meis fecunda facultas
Par esset votis; sed ego quia sumptibus impar
Est mea bursa meis, patriam famulosque relinquo."
Et simulans fletum, dicit: "Discedo, valete."
Tunc furor innatus, vino triplicatus et ira,
Regis in interitum Pictos trahit; arma capescunt;
Irrumpunt cameram, dicentes: "Proh pudor! inquit,
Occupat hic monachus regnum; mendicat et ipse
Dux Vortigernus, pocius diademate dignus.
Rex miser occubat, regnet dux imperia." Mitem
Insontemque nocens occidit dextera regem,
Et caput abscisum regis (miserabile visu)
Ad Vortigernum referunt; sed dux quia tristis,
Quamvis leticia latitanti fluctuet intus,
Lumina detergens, veluti lacrimancia, clamat:
"Me miserum! quid id est? cur te manus impia nobis
Eripuit Constans? Cives, accurrite; vinctos
Auctores sceleris adducite, fasce cruenta
Colla cruentorum cicius resecate clientum,
Quam male mors eadem rapit insontemque reosque."
Accusat pars una ducem, pars altera purgat
De nece Constantis; constat tamen esse peremptum.
Ne leto simili pereant, regis duo fratres
Armorici regni regi mittuntur alendi
Budicio, qui nutrit eos et tractat honeste.
  At Vortigernus, sumens sibi regis honorem,
Sumit honoris honos, sumit cum cismate sceptrum;
Nam Picti, Scoti, Venedoti Norguegicique
Arma gerunt in eum, nec ab ipsis civibus ejus

Diligitur, patitur pressuras intus et extra.
Interea plenas armisque virisque cuillas
Cancia tres habuit; fratres Engistus et Horsus
Omnibus hiis presunt. Rex Vortigernus eorum
Adventus causam, qui sint, patriamque requirit.
Cui sic Engistus : " Germania patria nostra est,
Cujus mos hic est, quem non tamen approbo; cum sit
Vel victu tenuis, vel multa gente gravata,
Sorte data, quem sors condempnat vel qua relegat,
Vel tibi, vel cuique domino parere parati,
Quos dux Mercurius partes perduxit ad istas. "
Rex stupet, et vultus extollens nomine dicto
Mercurii, querit legemque fidemque virorum.
Respondens Engistus ait : " Nos numina celi,
Cum Jove Junonem colimus, cum Pallade Martem,
Saturnumque senem, satyros, faunosque laresque,
Innumerosque alios; preponimus omnibus illis
Mercurium, qui nos et nostros dirigit actus. "
Rex ait Engisto : " Personas diligo vestras,
Errorem vestramque fidem detestor et odi;
Sed tamen aula patet mea vobis. Undique turbant
Nos hostes : presens regnum defendite mecum;
Et cum vestra meos virtus superaverit hostes,
Deliciis opibusque meis in pace fruemur.
Si vos contigerit consortes esse laborum,
Participes eritis, me judice, semper honorum. "
Dixit, Saxonibus placet; hoc regique fidele
Obsequium semper se jurant exhibituros.
Nec mora, Pictorum ruit impetus, ensis et ignis
Bacantur passim; confestim ducit in hostes

Rex Britones cum Saxonibus. Dat terga pudende
Barbara turba fuge; fugienti Saxones instant,
Mille neci tradunt, et mille in vincula trudunt.
Nec multum Britones hic desudare necesse est.
Rex igitur victor grates impendit eisdem
Per quos victa fugit, que victrix esse solebat,
Hostilis rabies; vestes, entennia, terras
Donat eis; pociora datis se dona daturum
Pollicitat eis, si forti mente resistant
Hostibus, et regnum victo tueantur ab hoste.
Dum sibi rex in Saxonibus bene complacet, et dum
Illorum vox pondus habet, sibi cuncta licere
Illicitumque nichil sperans Engistus, operta
Fraude, sub optentu fidei seducere regem
Molitur, dum dicit : " Tibi bella minantur
Finitimi, nullumque latus tibi cessat ab hoste
Auxilium Zephirus. Populum qui subjacet Artho
Destinat huc Boreas, huc dirigit Auster Hybernos,
Et Dacos Eurus; odio quoque civibus esse
Nos vestris constat nostris queremur ab horis
Si placet auxilium. " — " Placet id mihi, " rex ait. Ille
Preterea regi : " Rex illustrissime, dicit,
Nos generosa ducum genuit regumque propago.
Debueras igitur nobis dare castra vel urbes,
Ut capiamur in hiis tutam post bella quietem. "
Respondisse duci six rex perhibetur : " Avorum
Lex alienigenis prohibet vetus opida nostro
In regno tradi, quam nostri nunc quoque servant;
Nec satis exacta est nostre constancia mentis,
Cum sit vestra fides fidei contraria nostre. "

Dicit; at Hengistus versutus sic ait illi :
" Da saltem quantum terre percingere possim
Una corrigia. " Quantum petit impetrat ille,
Unam corrigiam de toto tergore tauri
Scindit, cingit ea montis sublime cacumen;
Turrim condit ibi, cui nullo turbine belli
Hostis obesse potest, defenditur arte situque.
*Montis corrigie castrum* nunc usque vocatur.

Ecce viris plene, vento rapiente, carine
Octodecim veniunt, quas jam Germania flava
Miserat Engisto; cujus quoque filia Rowen
Virgo venit, facie regni prelata puella.
Dux igitur letus, nata sociisque receptis,
Invitat regem, natam sociosque novumque
Castrum visurum, veniens cum milite pauco.
Omnia visa probat, miratur opusque locumque,
Applauditque viris, et eis donaria donat.
Cumque cibis esset et Bachi munere functus,
De thalamo prodit Engisti filia, vino
Impleta cratera tenens, genibusque reflexis
Inquit : " *Laverd king wasail.* " Rex igitur puelle
Conspecta facie stupet, et calet ejus amore,
Et querit quid id est et quid responderit illi.
Interpres dicit : " Responde : *Drinchail.* " Ille
" *Drinchayl,* " inquit ei. Primo potare puellam
Precipit. Illa bibit primo, bibit ille secundo.
Anglia deinde bibax hunc ritum servat, ut illi
Qui potus potant equales sic sibi dicant.
Rex ergo vise correptus amore puelle,
Postulat hanc patrem; fratris, patris et sapientum

Consilio fretus, dilectam tradit amanti.
Quid facis, o demens? quid id est, stultissime regum?
Cur caperis facie? quid inis connubia contra
Preceptum Domini? nam mas et femina cultus
Disparis esse pares divina lege vetantur.
Non tibi, sed regno virgo Germanica nubit.
Hoc tibi pro facto venient incommoda; perdes
Infelicem animam, regno privaberis; in te
Insurgent cives, quibus hostes preposuisti.
Te tua, quam spolias, solio proles spoliabit;
Sceptrum quod cede cepisti, cede relinques.
Exclusis ducibus igitur famulisque Britannis,
Regis tota patet solis gentilibus aula.
Excitat ira duces; juvenes tres, quos generarat
Rex, irascuntur ob turpia facta parentis,
Dicti Vortimerus, Pascencius et Catigernus.
Interea Germanus adest et par Lupus, almi
Pontifices, quorum virtutibus acta coruscant.
Hii revocant Britones ad Christi cognicionem,
Quos jam deliros dederant contagia gentis,
Atque error cujus datur esse Pelasgius auctor.
Dum rex Engisto pareret in omnibus, illi
Sic ait Engistus : " Video quod tota movetur
Insula contra te, proles tua te quoque vexat.
Si simul huc veniet frater meus Octa, meoque
Fratre satus cui nomen *Abissa,* viri sapientes,
In bello fortes, qui, si preceperis, omnes
Occius excludent hostes de finibus istis. "
Rex ait : " Huc veniant. " Veniunt Cheldricus, Abissa
Octaque, qui plenas armata gente carinas

Adducunt secum. Rex letus suscipit illos
Et donat donis, quorum virtute triumphos
Optinet innumeros. Engistus semper eorum
Augmentat numerum. Que cum videre Britanni,
Saxonice gentis metuentes prodicionem,
Regi sic aiunt, oculis prodentibus iram :
"O rex! mirandum est te conjunxisse puellam
Sic tibi gentilem. Nulla est convencio Christi
Ad Belyal; multo magis est mirabile regni
Te dare frena tui populo sine lege regenda.
Te regni expertem gens reddere nititur exlex.
Saxones amoveas, qui te deponere temptant."
Rex tamen hoc fieri renuit; communiter illum
Destituunt Britones; proceres, plebs, clerus adherent
Vortimero, patrisque sui diadema relicti
Imponunt ejus capiti : novus ergo vocatus
Rex exercitibus, exleges fertur in hostes.
Nil ibi Mercurius, nil prodest Jupiter aut Mars;
Christus vincit, Christus regnat et imperat illic.
Terga dat Engistus minima cum parte suorum,
Et vix evadens cum paucis navibus exit
De regno; generoque suo nataque sua relictis,
Saxoniam repetit, nil dignum laude reportans.
Vortimerus vero, postquam victoria tanta
Cessit ei, dispersit opes; dat larga maniplis
Dona suis; urbes, villas, castella, domosque
Illis restituit, quibus has subtraxerat ante
Effera gens, Christique fidem preceptaque servat.
Dum bene disponit regno, dum regnat ubique
Pax et amor, dum fur nusquam, dum predo quiescit,

Humani generis hostis, quem cuncta molestant
Que recte fiunt, regis prejudicat annis;
Instinctu cujus miscens aconita noverca,
Piringi tradit famulo, famulusque propinat
Illa suo domino. Dominus mortale venenum
Assumit, potatque suam cum nectare mortem.
Cum fore vicinam mortem sibi sentit, amicos
Convocat et socios; large dispergit in omnes
Quas cumularat opes; monet illos ut bene pugnent
Pro patria, ponantque suum super ardua montis
Culmina sarcophagum, fabricatum ex ere micanti,
Hic ubi Saxonibus portus suus esse solebat.
Dicit enim : " Si forte meam Germanica tumbam
Agmina prospicient, prebencia terga recedent. "
At Trinovantum tamen est tumulatus in urbe.
Inde sibi natoque pater succedit, honoris
Ordine turbato. Regem regina precatur
Ut revocet socerum. Revocat, prohibetque venire
Agmina cum socero, Britonum ne suscitat iram,
Si plures ducat socios; tamen ille, parata
Classe, armatorum ter centum milia ducit.
Arma movent Britones; fallax regina parenti
Intimat hoc, regem et proceres sub tegmine pacis
Prodere molitur. Engistus nunciat illis,
Dicens : " Non nos bella juvant, non arma movemus
In vestrum regnum. Pacem, non prelia, posco.
Ne formidetis classem numerumque virorum :
Vivere Vortimerum credentes, arma timentes
Ejus, ut experti, nos tot tantasque catervas
Duximus, ut qui nos bello superaverat ante,

Illum possemus versa vice reddere victum;
Sed quia dii nostri nobis sine cede triumphum
Sunt dare dignati, non est opus agmine tanto.
In patriam, nisi quot regi retinere placebit,
Dirigimus socios; vel si rex jusserit, omnes,
Si placet, assignet nobis, tempusque locumque,
Ut tractaturi de pacis federe, pulsa
Suspicione doli, bene conveniamus inermes."
Prima dies mensis majorum nomine dicti
Assignatur eis, certusque locus; venit illuc
Sediciosa cohors, cultros sub crure recondens,
Et Britones veniunt, minime gens crudelitatis.
Dum de comuni tractarent utilitate,
Engistus sociis dat signum prodicionis.
Protinus, extractis cultris, gens perfida Christi
Impedit incautos nullo discrimine servos.
Pars tamen illorum, percepta sedicione,
Fustibus et saxis toto conamine missis,
Nonnullos perimit. Consul fortissimus Eldon
Claudiocestrensis, tigno quọd gestat honustus,
Quecumque attingit, confractum in Tartara trudit.
Huic humerum, illi crus, latus huic, caput obruit illi;
Sed quia perfida gens numero precellit et armis,
Diffugiunt sparsi per devia rura Britanni.
Quos vel mors vel plaga sinit, victoria plaudet
Saxonibus; regemque tenent servantque ligatum,
Donec reddat eis urbes et opida regni.
Hostibus ille suis, quamvis invitus, obedit;
Tradit eis omnes regni, cum turribus, urbes.
Cum nonnullum muri munimen habere

Se rex conspiceret, nimie non imperat ire.
Consulit ergo magos regni quis competat illi
In regione locus, ut in illo construat urbem.
" Mons, aiunt, Herir tibi congruit, ut tibi muros
Edifices illic et turrim nubibus equam. "
Id placet, et missis legatis congregat omnes
Artifices regni. Murus fundatur, et ecce,
Res horrenda nimis, quicquid lucente lucerna
Phebi fundatur, Phebes confunditur hora;
Molesque absortas tellus abscondit in alvo,
Et nichil apparet de precedente labore.
Adveniente die multis labor ille diebus
Apparet cassus : ideo stupet, occupat omnes
Artifices operum. Tum rex responsa magorum
Exquirit, dicens : " Mihi, vos quos cura laborque
Mundi sollicitat, exponite quid sit agendum,
Ut presens consistat opus quod sorbet abyssus. "
Respondent murum consistere posse, cruore
Aspersum parvi geniti sine semine patris.
Rex jubet exquiri per regni climata, si quis
Talis haberetur. Missi dum forte redirent
Ad regem tristes invento nemine tali,
Ad quamdam veniunt urbem, lassique sedentes
Conspiciunt parvos ludentes insimul, unus
Quorum Merlinus, et Dinabucius alter,
Dicitur. Inter eos, dum ludunt, rixa movetur.
Dicit Merlino sic Dinabucius : " Ut quid
Contendis mecum, cum sis me nobilitate
Inferior? nam sum genitus de semine regum.
Tu vero quis nescitur sis. Cum tibi nullus

Extiterit genitor, dispar discordia nostra est."
Qui missi fuerant, animis letantibus, aures
Hiis adhibent verbis, dicuntque : "Qui est puer iste
Qui sine patre satus fertur, res mira relatu?"
Astantes aiunt : "Nullus pater extitit illi.
Filia Demecie regis, que sub monachali
Veste latet, coitus maris expers edidit illum."
Inde adeunt urbis prefectum, jussaque regis
Exponunt illi. Prefectus tradit eisdem
Merlinum cum matre sua, quos protinus illi
Ad vultum regis referunt. Rex ergo puelle
Vultum conspiciens, ex ipso percipit illam
Ortam nobilibus; querit quo filius ejus
Patre satus fuerit. Respondet : "Vivere caste,
Virginibus sociata sacris, a virgine cepi.
Interea, thalamis clausis portisque seratis,
Quidam sub specie juvenis, pulcherrimus ore,
In cunctis placidus, coram me stare solebat,
Et repetita michi dare basia, deinde jocose
Luctari mecum, cujus michi lucta placebat.
Victa, nec invite subcumbens vim paciebar;
Sed gratam passe violate non violatam
Inde recedebat, tenues dilapsus in auras,
More reversurus solito, sed tardus amanti.
Aut hec causa mei partus fuit, aut sine causa.
Hunc peperi parvum, meus est, ignoro parentem."
Dixerat. Inde magos rex consulit et sapientes,
Qui de naturis rerum discernere norunt.
E quibus unus adest Magancius, omnibus illis
Doctior; alloquitur hunc rex, et querit an illud

Quod narrat mater parvi, natura creatrix
Permittit fieri. Cui sic Magancius inquit :
" Luna subest soli, distantque loco. Locus ille
Demonibus datus est, qui, sumpta sepe virili
Forma, decipiunt fatuas, gravidantque puellas.
Hujus forte fuit parvi pater incubo talis. "

# GESTORUM REGUM BRITANNIÆ

## LIBER SEXTUS.

*Incipit sextus liber.*

Sextus ab augurio Merlini cepit. Inungit
Aurelium, regem comburit; dilaniatur
Engistus. Parcit rex Octe, ditat amicos
Et novat ecclesias. Spoliatur Hybernia saxis.
Rex sollempnizat; sumit Pascencius arma.
Rex perit; Uther ei succedit, vincit; in illum
Octa movet bellum; superatur Cornubiensis.
Nupta ducis regi datur uxor; nascitur inde
Arturus, languensque diu rex fertur in hostes.
In feretro superat, sumpto perit inde veneno.

Omnia Merlinus intenta colligit aure,
Indignansque rogat : " Cur, rex, huc usque venire
Me matremque meam, distractos more reorum,
Impie jussisti? Non sum tractandus inique. "
Rex ait : " Effusus sanguis tuus, ut mihi docti
Asseruere magi, murum, qui nescio quare
Stare nequit, stabili faciet consistere fundo. "
Cui puer arridens : " Mendaces esse probabo
Fallacesque magos. Veniant te precipiente. "
Dixit, et ecce magi veniunt, quos cana senectus

Longaque barba facit et verba diserta verendos.
Quos puer ut vidit, insultans sic ait illis :
" O quorum mens est incautos fallere! quorum
Vita nociva, quibus prebent mendacia victum!
Quid muro preferre potest, ut sistere possit,
Sanguinis humani diffusio? Non bene nostis
Quid fundamento subsit, quod dissipet illud?
Sub fundamento stagnum latet : effodiatur
Terra, patebit aqua. " Foditur, stagnum patet : illud
Impediebat opus, nec murum stare sinebat.
Ille magos iterum temptat, dicitque : " Magistri,
Dicite perfidie sub stagno quid latet ipso. "
Erubuere magi, nec ad hoc certum potuere
Reddere responsum; cum sic Ambrosius inquit :
" Sub stagno presente latent duo concava saxa,
In quibus abdita sunt duo corpora magna. "
In rivos aqua dividitur, duo saxa videri
Incipiunt; saxis avulsis, inde coloris
Diversi, visu res admiranda, dracones
Exiliunt, stagnumque petunt, bellumque minantur
Ambo sibi, quorum rubus unus, candidus alter.
Dirum committunt certamen, hanelitus ignem
Evomit amborum; tandem rubus effugat album.
Converso rubeo, versa vice terga dat albus.
Rex igitur, postquam stupefacto pectore bellum
Vidit inauditum, dixit : " Merline, stupendum
Quid tibi significet presens mihi pande duellum. "
Ille silet, totusque tremit dum spirituales
Concipit afflatus, lacrimisque rigantibus ora
Conqueritur vates : " Serpens tibive rubus, inquit,

Ecce tuas caveas, expulso te, tenet albus.
Presignat Britones rubeus draco, Saxones albus,
Quos conjunxisti, quibus in se tela dedisti.
In rubeum niveus convertet prelia, montes
Vallibus equabit, fedabit sanguine rura,
Diruet ecclesias, cultores ecclesiarum
Interimet, Christi nomen delere studebit,
Donec fulmineus, obliquo dente timendus,
Cornubiensis aper, rictu spumante feretur
In niveum; sternet niveum, cedetque flagellis.
Ille caput nivei pede conteret, ille rubenti
Restituet stagnum; subjectus serviet ipsi
Occeanus, subdet sibi Gallica regna. Timebit
Hunc Romanus apex, anceps erit exitus ejus.
In populis celebris erit, et narrantibus ejus
Actus causa cibi, cujus preconia fine
Nullo claudentur, quem semper vivere credet
Simplex posteritas, quamvis natura repugnet."
Postquam Merlinus hec pluraque vaticinavit,
Quorum difficile est seriem committere metro,
Etas narrantis et verba obscura prophete
Mirari faciunt regem regisque sodales;
Cum sic alloquitur rex illum : "Nescio quis te
Spes instigat ventura evolvere fata,
Sive malo sis, sive bono spiramine plenus."
Sic respondet ei Merlinus : "Si potes, ignem
Effuge natorum Constantini. Duo fratres
De portu ducunt classem, litusque relinquunt
Armoricum; ventis jam vela per equora pandunt,
Jam litus Totonense tenent, jam Saxones armis

Invadunt, subeuntque sibi; jam vindice flamma
Ureris inclusus in turri. Fratris eorum
Te cruor accusat fusus, te conciliante.
Ve tibi, rex, quem nullum latus est tibi tutum!
In te concurrunt hinc fratres, Saxones inde
Occidet Engistus, dabitur diadema patrinum
Aurelio; pacem populo dabit, ecclesiarum
Restituet dampnum, sumpto regnare veneno
Desinet. Uther ei succedet, qui morietur
Fratris consimili leto; sed prodicionum
Auctores digna multabit morte scelestos
Cornubiensis aper." Soli cedentibus astris,
Crastina lux oritur, cum fratribus Armoricani
Jam litus Totonense tegunt. Jam rumor adesse
Pupplicat Armoricos; Britones quos sparserat hostis
Conveniunt, dominosque suos civesque videntes,
Illis se sociant; decorant diademate regni
Aurelium. Decoratus eo, jam mente feroci
Fertur in Engistum; tamen eligit ante peremptum
Ulcisci fratrem. Collectis ergo catervis,
In Vortigernum rapitur, qui nomine regis
Territus audito fugit ad castrum Geneorum.
Quem rex insequitur, inclusumque obsidet igni.
Concremat obsessum; quamvis consumptus in igne
Proditor expiret, infamia prodicionis
Extat adhuc, quam non flammarum incendia delent.
Quod simul attonitas Engisti perculit aures:
Aurelium, Christi famulum, pietatis amicum,
Cultorem fidei, custodem religionum,
Pacis amatorem, casti rectique magistrum,

Nestora consilio, sed viribus Hectora, sevum
Hectoris aspectu, membrorum lege gigantem,
Agnum simplicibus, mansuetum mitibus, hostem
Hostibus, attonitus populus gentilis obhorret.
Collectis igitur sexus utriusque catervis,
Jam querens loca tuta sibi, communiter Humbrum
Transmeat effera gens, urbes ac menia munit.
Ex aquilonali plaga Dacos, Venedotes
Congregat et Scotos. Veniunt ad bella caterve
Diversi cultus, varie collegia lingue.
Aurelius vero sequitur vestigia gentis
Pagane fugientis eum; qui dum regionis
Ecclesias, urbes et menia diruta mestus
Cerneret, exclamat dicens : " Rex Christe, triumphum
Si mihi contuleris, devictis hostibus, omnes
Ecclesias reparabo tuas, quas barbarus hostis
Diruit, et larga dotabo dote refectas. "
At simul Engistus regem prope novit adesse,
Disponens socios in turmas, obviat illi.
Campus erat, Beli de nomine nomen adeptus :
Illuc Engistus socios deducere furtim
Nititur, ut Britones ineat non premeditatos.
Quod tamen Aurelium minime latet, ocius ergo
Anticipat campum, statuitque ex ordine turmas,
Dum veniunt hostes; quos cum prope inspicit, inquit :
" O socii, quorum virtus mihi cognita, quorum
Non dubitata fides, quorum constancia certa est,
Vincite jam victos, captos vincite, vel ense
Vindice dejectos mature tradite morti.
Ne formidetis numerum viresque virorum,

Quas in castra trahit injusta occasio belli.
Vos pia causa movet patriam deffendere vestram.
Illos Mercurius fallit, nos Christus ab hoste
Protegit. In Christo tantum spem ponite vestram. "
Dixit, et ille suos cuneos precedit, et ire
Non jubet, immo sequi. Regem devota scquuntur
Agmina, nullus abit trepitanti corde retrorsum.

E contra pagana cohors, quam ducit in arma
Dux Engistus, adest, Britonum sitibunda cruoris.
Quam dux dispositis turmis ex ordine bello,
Excit at, et dicit : " O generosa deorum,
Robusti juvenes, quibus idola nostra triumphum
Prestant continuum, votis deposcite bellum!
Ecce greges Britonum, cum paucis Armoricanis,
Quos innata trahit stolide vesania mentis
In bellum, votis, etsi non prece, precantur
Ut capiamus eos; minima est laus ipsa triumphi
Hic ubi semimares bello superamus. " Et ecce
Occurrunt acies, ad missi fulminis instar.
Tunc clangor lituum, voces, hynitus equorum,
Armorumque fragor impellunt aera tanto
Concussu, quantus fieret si machina rerum
In Chaos antiquum rueret compage soluta.
Atropos occat ibi tot forcia fila sororum,
Quot messes messor defalcat falce recurva.
Aurelius vero gladio ductore per hostes
Ducit iter, sternitque viros, sternuntque Britanni;
Sternunt Armorici, sternit fortissimus Eldon;
Sed recolcns tempus antique prodicionis,
Tendit in Engistum, quem prospicit ense furentem

In Britones. Sed cum paganos cedere regi
Cerneret Engistus, lacerato flebile bellum
Agmine destituit, vicinaque menia castri
Conani festinus adit; non est tamen ausus
Cum tot militibus castri se credere muro,
Ne rex qui sequitur, qui plurima vincula victis
Mancipit aut perimit, obsessum dedicioni
Cogat, et ignavus leto moriatur inerti.
Pulchrius esse putat mortem pugnando subire,
Quam fame depressum vitam veniamque precari.
Dispositis igitur turmis, prope menia regem
Expectans, inquit : " Fortissima stirps superorum,
State, precor, mecum, mentesque resumite vestras.
Dii nostri, qui nos superari sustinuerunt,
Jam vigilant, jam stant pro nobis; jam pudet illos,
Dum superaremur, sompni gravitate teneri.
In manibus nostris dant hostes. Christus eorum
Jam dormit : vincamus eos dum dormiat ille. "
Rex igitur cernens positas ex ordine turmas,
Ponit et ipse suas, et eas hortatur, et inquit :
" Gloria sit Patri, Nato sit gloria, Sancto
Gloria Spiritui, qui nostros tradidit hostes
In manibus nostris. Desperant longius ire,
Lassati nequeunt, nimio sudore soluti.
Nemine eos pulsante, cadunt sine cede cadentes.
Cedite semineces, gladiis dissolvite nodos :
Servicii minimus labor hic et maxima merces. "
Dixerat, appropiant acies sibi; grandine plura
Tela hinc inde volant, post tela venitur ad enses.
Ense liquet cui laudis honor, cui dextera fortis,

Regnum cui mens est acquirere sive tueri.
Mutua dampna sui patitur pars utraque passim,
Cesaque vel cedens pars omnis cedere cedi
Turpe putat, cedique priusquam cedere gaudet.
Rex facit ense viam, fortem fortissimus Eldon
Impetit Engistum; parili virtute resistit
Dux Engistus ei : quis eorum forcior aut quis
Sit major dubium est. Crebros dant ensibus ictus,
Compulsusque graves; sed stans immotus uterque,
Cum pare par constat; sed adhuc non est bene certa
Quis cedat vel quis excedat. Permicat ignis
Ex collisura gladiorum. Pallada, Martem,
Cum Junone Jovem, Saturnum Mercuriumque
Invocat Engistus; Christo se deputat Eldon;
Sed neque Christus adhuc isti, nec muta triumpha
Idola dant illi. Dubio victoria pendet,
Donec Cornubie dux se Gorlosius illam
Transtulit ad partem, stipatus milite multo.
Quo viso, virtus Eldonis crescit, et ipsum
Abstrahit Engistum, dextra nasale capescens
Cassidis ipsius, victumque per agmina ducit.
Saxones Engistum vinctum captumque videntes,
Attoniti fugiunt; fugientes Armoricorum
Agmen equestre sequens non cessat sternere, donec
Aurelio cedit victoria. Victor ad urbem
Conani tendit, et eam capit. Hinc sepeliri
Precipit occisos, curari vulnera, lassa
Membra quiete frui, discerni quis cruciatus
Engistum maneat; cum sic vir religiosus,
Eldonis frater, Eldonis episcopus, inquit :

" O si forte virum mendacem, sediciosum,
Sacrilegum, furem, vellent absolvere, ducti
Injusta pietate duces, examine nullo,
Ipse meis manibus membratim dilaniabo
Injustum juste, Samuelis more prophete,
Qui cum cepisset Agaz, captumque ligasset,
Extra castra trahens membratim dilaniavit. "
Omnibus ista placet sententia presulis : Eldon
Extra castra trahens Engistum, demetit ejus
Ense caput. Corpus sepelitur more suorum.
Filius Engisti de bello fugerat Octa.
Eboracum veniens, rex obsidet ocius Octam.
Ille videns urbem non posse resistere regi,
Egreditur, regemque petit, manibusque cathenam
Sablonemque gerens in vertice, sic ait illi :
" Dii pereant nostri, valeat Deus Israel, ille
Regnet in eternum; vitam veniamque petentes,
Rex, tibi subicimus, serva servire volentes. "
Dixit, et exurgens Eldonis episcopus inquit :
" Cum Gabaonite submissa fronte venirent
Ad populum Domini, vitam veniamque tulerunt.
Nos vero, qui propicio gens dedita Christo
Et devota sumus, pocius miseris misereri
Supplicibusque decet. " Miserans miseratur eorum
Aurelius; certa regionis pars habitanda
Assignatur eis, immundis proxima Scotis.
Devictis igitur rex hostibus, Eboracenses
Ecclesias refici necnon et Londonienses
Vicinasque jubet, demolirique deorum
Templa; novas condit leges, renovatque vetustas;

Judicium cum justicia rectumque fidemque
Servat, et enervat contraria. Predo quiescit,
Fur cessat, vis nulla rapit, pax regnat amorque.
Opida, rura, domos, urbes cum menibus altis,
Exheredatis reddit, quos efferus hostis
Exheredarat. Plagas herede carentes
Illis assignat bene qui meruere maniplis,
Ne quid inexpertum desolatumque relinquat
Eradicando vicia, et plantando bonorum
Radices operum. Regionis circuit urbes,
Wintoniamque venit; Eldonus episcopus ipsum
Ad montem ducit, ubi proditor ille Britannos
Engistus proceres cultris jugulaverat olim.
Conspectis igitur tumulis, suspiria ducit
Pectoris ex imo, lacrimisque fluentibus inquit :
" O procerum generosa cohors! o digna perhenni
Extolli laudum titulo! tua mors preciosa
Est in conspectu Domini. Tua vile sepulchrum
Ossa tegit, meliorque tui pars fulget in astris.
Si mea forte meis votis suffecerit etas,
Hunc ego perpetuo montem venerabor honore,
In quo cesa jaces pro libertate tuenda."
Dixit, et artifices de regni partibus omnes
Congregat, ingeniisque suis velocius uti
Ut felix et perpes opus dignumque relatu
Edificent in honore patrum. Dubitant aiuntque
Artifices, quis posset opus fabricare perhenne,
Preter eum qui cuncta suo produxit adesse
Ingenio, qui congeriem divisit et inde
Omne quod est, quod erit et quod fuit, ordine sumpsit;

Cum Legionensis Tremorinus episcopus inquit :
" Merlinum vatem, cui fas est scire futura,
Consule; consultus tibi consulet. Utere docti,
Rex bone, consilio vatis. " Rex ergo prophetam
Presentem presens affatus, sic ait illi :
" Tu cui nosce datur abscondita, vaticinare
Casus venturos. " Cui vates : " Spiritus ille
Qui vates ventura docet, non est sine causa
Alliciendus, ait, nec frustra fata revelat. "
— " Dic saltem, Merline, mihi quis posset honore
Perpetuo proceres extollere, corpora quorum
Pro patria bene cesa jacent in montibus istis. "
Cui sic respondet Merlinus : " Hibernia servat
Inmensos lapides, quos adduxere gigantes
Ex Affris olim, positos ex ordine, quorum
Circumstans series est dicta *Corea gygantum*.
Illos huc adduc, et eos hic stare jubeto
Sicut stant illic, et sic que queris habebis. "
Hiis rex auditis ridet, dicitque prophete :
" Tam magnos lapides de tam regione remota
Huc impossibile est afferri posse, nec illis
Saxa mei regni precii reor esse minoris. "
Cui Merlinus ait : " Non est ita; maxima virtus
Est in eis. Cum terrigene langore gravatos
Se fore sentirent, limphis ea saxa gravabant;
Limphas servabant, et eis sua membra rigabant,
Sanaque reddebant. Hec saxa nec arte nec astu
Ingenii, nec vi tolli, sed carmine possunt. "
Protinus Aurelius Uthri ter quinque virorum
Milia committit, et eos vatemque disertum

Destinat armatos, vento rapiente carinas
Ad regni litus in quo stat dicta Corea.
Rex Gillominus, qui regno presidet illi,
Adventum Britonum, fama referente relatu,
Quid querant querit. " Lapides afferre gygantum
Ad regem nostrum, vel te nolente venimus, "
Dicunt. Rex respondet eis : " Cognomine Bruti
Et re sunt Britones, quos propria vita molestat,
Dum nostros lapides nobis auferre laborant,
Ac si non habeat meliora Britannia saxa.
Haut impune ferent. " Tunc congregat armipotentes
Tocius regni, Britonesque invadit, et illum
Invadunt Britones; conserto marte fugatur
Rex cum gente sua, multis tamen ante peremptis.
Inde gyganteam cursu veloce Coream
Turba petit Britonum, quos sic temptando propheta
Alloquitur, dicens : " Juvenes, prosternite moles
Astantes lapidum, regique per equora ferte. "
Restibus et sudibus et nisibus omnibus unum
Infestant lapidem; sed stans inmotus, eorum
Vires nil prodesse probat. Sudore soluti
Infecto cessant, annullatoque labore.
Tunc ridens Merlinus ait : " Discedite, segnes. "
Discedunt, dicit vates sine murmure carmen.
Quo dicto, sociis inquit : " Deponite saxa. "
Deponunt sine vi, ducuntque ad littora ducta;
Navibus imponunt, dant vento lintea, regi
Presentant lapides, gaudet presentibus; omnes
Regni pontifices, abbates, archilevitas
Convocat et proceres, Pentecostenque diebus

Continuis celebrans tribus, imponit diadema
More suo capiti. Regis patet omnibus aula,
Quam non ornat ebur, quam non testudo decorat,
Sed nemus et frondes; quis enim tot milia cleri
Agmina, tot procerum, tot vulgi, tot mulierum,
Inclusisse simul aula potuisset in una?
Eboracensis apex vacat archipresule, necnon
Et Legionensis. Sampson datur Eboracensi,
Et Legionensi Dubricius, ambo beati
Pontifices, quos vita probat, moresque perornant.
Hinc jussu regis Merlinus saxa Coree
Ad montem procerum transfert, et collocat illic
Ordine quo quondam stabant in monte Kilaro.

Post Vortigerni mortem Pascencius, ejus
Filius, Aurelium dispersis fugerat alis,
Quem male dejectum Germania flava recepit.
Inde recollectos audacter ducit in ipsum
Saxones Aurelium; sed eos de finibus ejus
Fortiter excludit. Dant ventis vela fugata,
Ut repetant patriam; sed eos contrarius Austro
In Gillomini regnum rapit invidus Eurus.
Ad regis vultum veniunt, ejusque precantur
Auxilium contra regis fera castra Britanni.
Ille memor probri proprii, lapidumque Coree,
Fedus init cum Saxonibus, regnique phalanges
Ducit in Aurelium, loca proxima subicit igni.

Cujus fama rei postquam pervenit ad Uthrem,
Congregat electos Britonum; nam febre gravatus,
Wintonie jacet Aurelius, cujus dolor hosti
Dat spem vincendi. Largo corruptus Eosa,

Munere se phisicum fingit, doctusque Britannum
Eloquium; monachique nigro velatus amictu,
Wintoniam tendit, et pissidas innumerasque
Radicum species exponens, suscipit egri
Curam. Nec curat morbum, sed currit in ejus
Mortem; nam mixtum cum duci melle venenum
Porrigit egroto. Porrectum suscipit eger,
Susceptum mortis potum cum nectare potat.
Inde fugit phisicus; conditur more suorum,
Conditus in tumulo rex est sub monte Coree.
 Ecce novum sidus, cunctis fulgencius astris
Mirandumque magis, in eadem nocte coruscat;
Horriferi speciem profert nova stella draconis,
Et duo procedunt radii serpentis ab ore,
Et diversa petunt. Unus trans Gallica regna
Tendit, ad australes extenditur alter Hybernos.
Sideris aspectus, monstrum mirabile visu,
Incutit horrorem spectantibus; inclitus Uther
Augurium vatis Merlini, quid sibi sidus,
Quid draco, quid radii, divisio quid radiorum
Vult, jubet inquiri. Vates, dum spiritus intrat,
Suspirat, fremit et trepidat, flet, clamat et inquit :
" O regis casus! o publica pena, ruina
Communis, nullo reparabile tempore dampnum!
Aurelius periit, sub quo pereunte perimus;
Sed bene consuluit nostro deus ipse periclo,
Quod vivis, dignusque potes sucedere fratri.
Festines igitur hostes invadere ferro,
Pugna pro patria, prope stat victoria tecum.
Te draco significat, radii duo sunt tua proles

Que tibi nascetur; radius qui tendit in Alpes,
Rex erit illustris, cui regum serviet agmen.
Unica nascetur tibi filia; regis Hyberni
Uxor erit, prolem producet : significatur
Illa per hunc radium qui plagam prospicit Austri."
A monitu vatis obstantes fertur in hostes.
Utraque pars in parte cadit, cadit ille rebellis
Rex Gillominus, et dux Pascencius, inde
Saxones ostendunt et Hyberni terga Britannis;
Et repetunt naves, cedes in terga gerentes.
Wintoniam dux victor adit, cleroque favente
Et procerum cetu, regis decoratur honore.
Fabricat ex auro duo rex vexilla draconis,
Illius ad formam quam nuper in aere vidit;
Unum deponit sedis cathedralis in ede,
Et reliquum precedit ei cum fertur in hostes.
*Uther Pendragon* vulgaliter idem vocatur,
Quod Britones dicunt stupidum caput esse draconis.

Interea dum tota novo favet insula regi,
Ecce duces quibus Aurelius donaverat olim
In regno partem, contra rectumque fidemque
Quam dederant, dispersa vocant collegia gentis
Saxonice, regemque novum regnumque molestant.
At rex magnanimus, collectis viribus, hostes
Impetit, impetui cujus perjura resistunt
Agmina; nulla manus torpescit dum tenet ensem.
Omnes arma tenent, omnes prosternere temptant.
Arva cruore rubent, occumbunt strata per agros
Corpora, dampna sue patitur pars utraque gentis.
Ambigitur que sit pars gavisura triumpho,

Donec rex campum retroducens frena relinquit.
Mons sublimis erat, circundatus undique saxis,
In medio frutices : illuc cum rege Britanni
Ascendunt, hostesque suos sua terga sequentes
Expectant illic, tali munimine tuti.
Jam nocti cedente die, sua sub pede montis
Castra locant hostes. Rex vero quid sit agendum
Querit, querenti sic dux Gorlosius inquit :
" Quis pudor armatos includi more bidentum?
Jam dormit pagana cohors, sompnoque gravatos
Nos rata consimili fruitur secura sopore
Nocte soporatos hostes invadere ferro. "
Id placet, armantur, descendunt, inde sopitos
Bachantur gladiis; de sompno suscitat ensis
Illos, quos cogit sompno dormire perhenni.
Effusi per castra vage ruit unda cruoris,
Declivo ruitans in valle jacentibus ictu.
Vulneris ingeminat mortem cum vulnere sanguis.
Corpora cesorum coacervat sanguinis unda
Vallis in extremo, defuncta cadavera firmo
Obice diffusum faciunt stagnare cruorem.
O pietas dampnosa! tuis nimium pius, hosti
Impius, ipse suis capit Octam rex et Eosam.
Diffugit effera gens, regi victoria cedit.
Victor de regno victos exterminat hostes,
Pacificat regnum, jus dictat, justiciamque
Servari, metuique jubet, penasque nocentum
Taxat, taxatas nulla pietate relaxat.
Rege jubente, duces, clerus, reliquique potentes
Londonias veniunt, Pasche sollempnia rite

Concelebraturi. Venit et dux Cornubiensis
Cum consorte thori, que quanto Cintia stellis
Et Phebus lune, tanto preest illa puellis.
Rex igitur, visis oculis facieque ducisse,
Ejus amore calet, nusquam declinat ab illa
Lumina, torquetur mente, suique
Oblitus decoris, fieri Gorlosius optat.
Percipit errorem regis Gorlosius : unde
Clam venit ad patriam cum conjuge. Tangitur intus
Felle doloris amans, ferro devastat et igni
Cornubiam; sed dux duo munitissima servat
Oppida, Tyntagolum, quod circuit undique pontus.
Hic Ygerna latet, necnon et Dimiliocum;
Quod dux ingreditur, ingressumque obsidet Uther.
Dumque animo recolit cultum vultumque ducisse,
In regis rapide serpunt precordia flamme;
Cumque suum celare diu non posset amorem,
Ulphino mala que patitur sub amore revelat.
Ulphinus Merlinon adit, poscitque dolenti
Auxilium regi. Merlinus, carmine dicto,
Mutat in effigiem regem ducis, addit et ipsi
Ulphino speciem Jordani Tyntagolensis,
Assumitque ducis famuli Britelis ydeam;
Tyntagolumque petunt, admittit portitor illos.
Rex subit optatum talamum votoque potitur.
Tres noctes totidemque dies dux, creditur, illic
Continuat, quum non est nox unica tanti
Ut tantus generetur homo; nam dum quadrangulus orbis
Manserit, Arturus eternum nomen habebit.

Interea nota est clausis absencia regis.

Dux igitur portis Gorlosius exit apertis,
Et gladio faciente viam se mittit in hostes.
Cum ter mille viris in primo marte peremptus,
Dux cadit. Occisi casum ducis intimat ejus
Nuncius uxori; sed forma sophistica regis
Contradicit ei. Regis fallace remota,
Vera redit facies; quam rex cognovit adulter,
Cognoscit conjunx pleni quod suscipit inde.
Nobilis Arturus hinc nascitur et soror Anna.
Inde diu placita gavisa est insula pace;
Sed quia sepe solent misceri tristia letis,
Tocius in luctum vertuntur gaudia regni :
Nam simul egressi de carcere regis Eosa
Octaque sunt, bellis regem regnumque lacescunt;
Nam rex egrotus obsistere non valet illis.
Loth tamen egregio regni committit habenas.
Ille vices regis supplet pro posse Britannos,
Ducit in adversas acies, quandoque fugatur
Et quandoque fugat; sed rex, qui vincere semper
Est solitus, vincique suo conquestus ab hoste,
Se fecit in feretro Germanica in agmina ferri.
Omnes in feretro tum conspicientes
Seminecem, renuunt armis incessere. Regem
Excitat ille tamen acies in Saxones. Octa
Dux et Eosa cadunt cum magna parte suorum.
Diffugiunt alii, regem sentire dolorem
Langoris prohibent cantus plaususque triumphi.
Vis tamen illa mali, post tanta molestius ipsum
Gaudia facta gravant regem, graviusque fatigant.
Purius argento, regali subditus aule

Fons manat : rex inde solet sua membra lavare
Et relevare sitim. Fons est de nocte veneno
Infectus, rex inde bibit cum morte venenum.

---

# GESTORUM REGUM BRITANNIÆ

## LIBER SEPTIMUS.

*Incipit septimus liber.*

Septimus Arturum decorat diademate regis.
Infestat Colgrinus eum, rex obsidet hostes.
Cheldrico veniente fugit; sed tutus Hoeli
Auxilio dispersit eos. Devincit Hybernos,
Scotos divertit, festum colit, et tria donat
Regna tribus; ducit uxorem, regna propinqua
Subjugat, Occeanum sibi subdit, Gallica regna
Vi superat, diversa suis dat munera maniplis,
Eboracum repetit, et sollempnizat ibidem.
Cum sibi subjectis ineunt post fercula ludos.

Candida Caliope, cetu comitante sororum,
Ex Elicone veni, pectusque arentis inane
Sacro fonte riga; neque enim describere gesta
Arturi metrice, ne detractare viderer,
Presumo sine te. Nil hic prodesset Homerus,
Nil Naso, nil Virgilius, nil Tullius ipse
Absque tuo motu; quia quantis fortis Achilles
Tersiten excedit, tantis prefertur Achilli
Laudibus Arturus. Cujus preconia vatis
Meonii condigna modis Eneydos auctor
Hystorie veteris Anchise proposuisset,

Lucanusque gravis tacuisset Cesaris actus,
Et veteres Thebe caruissent perpete fama,
Si precedissent Arturi gesta poetas;
Sed ne depereat tantus sine laudibus heros,
Principis invicti laudes extollere conor.
Officium tamen esse meum virtutibus ejus
Inferius constat; sed pauper gratus ad aram
Acceptusque venit, nec in ejus munere numen
Estimat effectum precii, sed sacrificantis
Affectum: non est accepcior hostia Cresi,
Mactato vitulo, quam ceso pauperis agno.

Conveniunt igitur, defuncto rege, Britanni
Arturumque patris dignum diademate censent,
Ut quem commendat mentis constancia, Christi
Gratia, larga manus, virtus invicta, diserta
Lingua, decor vultus, discrecio, dextera fortis.
Jam tum quinquennem, populo plaudente Britanno,
Archipresul eum Dubricius, associatis
Presulibus regni, diademate regis honorat.
Rex novus ergo, novo non depravatus honore,
More colit Christum consueto; largus in omnes
Spargit opes, Britonumque datis adquirit amorem
Muneribus, munit munito milite regnum.

Interea subitum regis Germania casum
Audierat, fortesque suos transmiserat illuc
Sub duce Colgrino. Qui regnum depopulantes,
In populum populique domos bachantur in igne,
Et gladio passim perimunt juvenesque senesque;
Et lactans lactensque simul, insonsque nocensque,
Morte pari pereunt in templa nephanda deorum.

Ecclesias vertunt, nulla est reverencia sacri
Ordinis, et Christi nomen deletur ab Humbro.
Ad Cathinense fretum cedunt divina prophanis.
Rex fremit audita miseranda strage suorum,
Congregat ergo suas acies et fertur in hostes.
Ut leo jejunus sicienti fauce cruorem
Fertur in armentum, six Saxones impetit heros.
Marcius Eboracum tendens, ubi Saxones esse
Fama refert, cum gente sua rex obviat illis.
Perpetuo cursu rapitur Doulasius ampnis
Illuc; concurrunt hinc perfidus, inde fidelis.
Quantus amor regni communis tangat utrumque,
Ictu teste probat; par est utriusque voluntas
Partis, et affectus adquirere sanguine regnum.
Utraque pars in parte perit, pars mergitur ampne,
Pars cadit ense fero. Post factas undique cedes
Pars pagana fugit, cedentem verbere cedens.
Arturus sequitur ingressos, obsidet urbem
Eboracum; per inane volant utrimque sagitte.
Nec mora, Baldulphus, Colgrini frater, ad urbem
Obsessam tendit, statuens de nocte Britannos
Securos armis invadere. Comperit ejus
Arturus fraudem; quem fraude repellere caute
Premeditans, equites sexcentos mittit in ejus
Occursum, peditumque simul tria milia nocte
Sub duce Cornubie; quem dum Baldulphus et ejus
Agmina pretereunt, invadunt agmen inerme
Armati Britones. Bellum committitur impar;
Nam nudos armata cohors non percucientes
Interimit. Dat terga fuge Germanica turba.

At cum Baldulphus clausi non posset habere
Colloquium fratris, tuto radi sibi barbam
Cesariemque facit contra pagana statuta;
Et posito vultu pagani, se citharedum
Assumpta fingit cithara, gentisque fidelis
Castra subit. Timidus muris approximat urbis,
Agnoscit fratrem frater, jactoque rudente
Tollit eum. Frater letatur fratre reperto.
Denique cum clausi desperant, dumque triumphi
Spem gerit Arturus, dum muri concuciuntur,
Ecce fere naves sexcente milite plene
Adveniunt, quas jam Germania miserat illuc
Cum duce Cheldrico. Quas cum rex novit adesse,
Ne sibi deterius contingeret, obsidionem
Deserit, et laxis ducto petit agmine frenis
Londonias. Rex Armorice regionis Hoelus
Ducit in auxilium regis ter quinque virorum
Milia, de quorum numero confisus, in hostes
Se gerit, obsessam cingentes Lindecolinum.
Perfida christicolis gens firma mente resistit,
Datque capitque graves constrictis ensibus ictus;
Et clipeo Christi protecta caterva fidelis
Tradit pagane gentis sex milia morti.
Cumque sibi prodesse nichil videt ydola, campum
Deserit effera gens, fugiensque relaxat habenas.
  Stat nemus arboreo Calidonis robore densum,
In quo se recipit fera gens; et mente resumpta,
Stans illic jactis telis saxisque resistit
Impetui Britonum. Britones sua tela videntes
Nil prodesse sibi, quum nemus excipit ictus,

Arboribus cesis includunt Saxones. Ipsi
Cum sibi preclusum cernunt iter egrediendi,
Ne fame depereant, vitam tantummodo regem
Poscunt, et jurant quod vectigalia solvet
Annua christicolis Germania serva Britannis.
Quidquid habent regi concedunt eris et auri.
Hec audita placet res regi, liberat hostes,
Obsidibusque datis ad propria dirigit illos.
Ingressique rates expandunt lintea ventis;
Jamque maris medium nacti, jam litora regni
Cernentes patrii, cum se sine laude redire
Conspiciunt, rediisse piget; pugnando perire
Quam sic degeneres inhonestam ducere vitam,
Pulchrius esse putant. Retroducunt ergo carinas,
Et litus Totonense petunt, et litus adepti
Discurrunt per rura vage. Furit ignis in edes,
Ensis in agricolas; nichil est a litore dicto
Ad mare Sabrinum quod non sit tempore parvo
Subpositum exitio. Veniunt Badonis ad urbem,
Obsessamque suo conantur subdere juri.
Postquam fama rei regis pervenit ad aures,
Horum perfidiam miratus tendit in hostes;
Corde tamen teritur quo rex jacet eger Hoelus.
Indignans igitur visa procul obsidione,
Sic ait : " O socii, quorum probitate subactus
Solis ab occasu vivam modo solis ad ortum,
Vertice subposito totus michi serviet orbis!
Ecce maligna cohors, quam credimus hostis,
Spretis que dederat juramentoque fideque,
In nostrum regnum ferro bachantur et igni.

Perjuros igitur invadite, sternite forti
Dextra mendaces. Fieri perjuria debent
Noxia perjuris. Miles cui vincere mens est,
Arturi regis actus imitetur in armis.
Si quis cedentem, nec Martis in agmine primum,
Viderit Arturum (quod nullo tempore fiet),
A simili fugiat, et iners imitetur inertem."

Antistes vero Dubricius astat in alto,
Expositoque Sacre Scripture teumate, clamat :
"Lectio sacra docet Christum posuisse sub hoste
Pro nobis animam : pro Christi ponite vestras
Membris, que laniat furiis invecta tyrannis
Saxonice gentis; patriam defendite vestram
Ecclesiasque Dei, quas destruit hosticus ignis.
Presentis vite est spacium breve; vita futura
Morte caret; justi mors gloria, pena perhennis
Mors peccatoris; servatur mortibus ille.
Pruna gravat corpus, animam necat altera prima,
Inducit natura necem, premissa secundam
Accio, pruna perit cum corpore, durat in evum
Spiritus et sua mors; non posse perire periclum
Talibus est, non posse mori mors tristior omni
Morte : moram mortis accusant qui paciuntur.
Cum judex justus hominum discusserit acta,
Diffinitivam precise proferet, a qua
Appellare nephas, reprobis : "Discedite," dicens,
Atque "Venite" probis. Tunc post divorcia primi
Conjugii, nubet iterum caro lege perhenni
Spiritui, vitave simul vel morte fruentur,
Felices vita, presciti morte merendum est.

In mundi campo quis qua gaudebit earum,
Aut flebit semper; flebit qui tempus in actus
Expendit pravos, gaudebit qui bene vixit.
Qui bene certavit, donabitur inde corona.
Ergo pro fratrum, fratres, pugnate salute.
Si vos contigerit mortem pugnando subire,
Perpetuum regnum capietis pro perituro.
Purpura martirii, precio preciosior omni,
Preminet in celo, cunctosque excellit honores.
Martiribus debetur honos cum martire Christo,
Cui laus et virtus et honor per secla cuncta."

Vix ea finierat presul, cum tota capescit
Arma cohors, votisque petunt certamen inire.
Induit Arturus loricam principe dignam,
Assumit galeam, cujus draco fulgidus auro
Irradiat; conum clipeum quoque, nomine *Pruden,*
Fert humeris, in quo Christi genitricis ymago
Fulget; fert gladium, cujus nomen *Caliburnus;*
Hastam dextra gerit *Ron* dictam, cladibus aptam.
Dispositis igitur cuneis, hinc inde Britanni
Saxones invadunt. Adversa fronte resistit
Tota turba die. Germanica, sole latente,
Axe sub occiduo montis sublime cacumen
Occupat, hic credens tutum munimen habere;
At postquam Tytan hebetavit crastinus astra,
Montis in ascensum velocius alite tendunt
Invicti Britones, cujus vix culmen adepti
Ensibus incurrunt in Saxones. Ensibus illis
Saxones obsistunt; sed cum pars magna diei
Nec quidquam consumpta foret, nec cederet isti

Aut illi parti victoria, concitus ira
Impiger Arturus obstantes fertur in hostes.
Ut leo quem stimulant jejunia ventris inanis
In pecudes fertur, sternitque et diripit illas,
Nec stratis sedare famem, sed sternere curat,
Dum quas stare videt, sic heros marcius hostes
Impetit et sternit et dissipat; ad Stiga solus
Quingentos mittit. Campum Cheldricus et ejus
Agmina destituunt, potitur rex laudis honore.

Inde Cador, dux Cornubie, sequitur fugientes
Saxones, et naves illorum perpete cursu
Anticipat, reditusque sui spem subripit illis;
Nam rex audito Scotos Pictosque nepotem
Obsedisse suum, valido languore gravatum,
Tendit eo, ne forte fero capiatur ab hoste.
Navibus ergo Cador captis sua ducit in hostes
Agmina; bella gerunt hinc Saxones, idem Britanni.
Quot ferro cecidere viri, concludere certo
Difficile est numero. Tandem dat terga pudende
Gens perjura fuge; fugiens, terreve cavernas
Aut nemorum latebras querit. Manet insula magno
Eminus Occeano; se fert Germanicus illuc
Qui superest hostis. Cador hostem, forcior hoste,
Insequitur. Cheldricus obit perimente Cadore;
Quo ceso, reliqui coguntur dedicioni.
Inde Cador sequitur Arturum, qui vice versa
Pictos et Scotos inclusos obsidet infra.
Limonos stagnumque plures continet in se
Insululas, ubi nidificant aquile, et regionis
Excidium horrisonis predicunt vocibus : illic

Obsidet Arturus hostes ter quinque diebus.
Perpessique famem pereunt ad milia Scoti,
Cum Gillominus de finibus exit Hybernis,
Electosque viros regni cum classe parata
Ducit in Arturum. Rex deserit obsidionem,
Atque in Hybernenses ferrum convertit, eosque
Cedibus affectos retro dare carbasa cogit.
Inde redit, Scotosque petit, cum turba fidelis
Pontificumque clerique, sacro velamine tecta,
Nuda pedes, puro portans abscondita in auro
Corpora sanctorum, simplex humilisque, faventi
Obviat, et flexis genibus lacrimisque profusis
Sic ait : " O juvenum fortissime, maxime regum,
Quem virtus invicta probant, quem gratia Christi
Mitem, quem facies placitum, quem lingua disertum
Roborat, exaudi gemitum fletusque precantum
Christi servorum; miseris miserere precamur.
Quam meruere pati, penam subiere nocentes.
Pena doli tenuit auctores; nec licet ultra
Vindictam extendi quam sint delicta reperta.
Subicimus tibi nos, tua sit provincia presens,
Et tua te pietas vincat, qui cetera vincis. "
Fletibus hiis motus flet, et ipse, piisque piorum
Devictus precibus, votis indulget eorum.
Inde nepos regis, rex Armoricanus Hoelus,
Predicti stagni rupes, nidos aquilarum,
Insululas, fluvios cernens, miratur; at illi
Sic ait Arturus : " Magis est mirabile stagnum
Haut procul hinc distans, cujus natura stupenda est.
Dispositum in quadro est, non longius esse videtur

Longum ejus lato : viginti constat utrumque
Esse pedum; sed quinque pedum non amplius altum est.
Pisces in stagno generum sunt quatuor illo,
Unum quodque sibi partem tenet appropriatam.
Nec metam excedens istud genus invidet illi;
Sed contentum sorte sua, quam lege perhenni
Mater ei Natura dedit, non se gerit ultra.
Est aliud stagnum magis hiis mirabile, juxta
Sabrinum litus; quia cum mare fluctuat in se,
Abdit aquas pelagi velut insaciata vorago.
Cum mare se retrahit, vomit undas montis ad instar.
Si versa facie stagni quis prospiciet undam,
Dum sic ebullit modicaque aspergine stantis
Irrorat vestes, stantem petit impetus unde,
Aut vix aut nunquam vim fluctus vincere possit;
Sed verso dorso cernenti non nocet unda. "
Inde data Scotis venia cum laude triumphi,
Rex venit Eboracum, cujus cum strata videret
Menia et ecclesias, contritus corde dolori
Condolet oppresse et viduate civibus urbis,
Compatiturque apici proprio pastore carenti;
Nam sanctus Sampson, de sede fugatus eadem,
Fugerat hostiles gladios populumque Dolensem.
Exemplo verboque docet prelatus eidem.
Rex igitur vidue pastorem providet urbi,
Piramon insignem meritis, virtute coruscum.
Ecce dies instat in qua de virgine nasci
Christus homo voluit; cujus sollempne diei
Rex celebraturus festum, clerum proceresque
Convocat huc, et, more suo dyademate sumpto,

Post sacra missarum sollempnia, post epularum
Diversi generis data fercula, dona maniplis
Larga suis tribuit, et quas destruxerat hostis
Ecclesias reficit et dotat dote perhenni.
Dat tria regna tribus regali stirpe creatis
Fratribus : Anguseli pars Scocia, pars Uriani
Muresia est, pars Loth Lodonesia, cui soror Anna
Arturi nupta est, de qua susceperat ipse
Illustres juvenes; appellavitque Modredum
Galvanumque pater, mire probitatis utrumque.
Inde Guenhomaram, Lacia de gente creatam,
Ducit in uxorem, cujus preclara decorem
Sidera mirantur, cui solis lumina cedunt.
Hiis ita dispositis, in regnum tendit Hybernum
Impiger Arturus, regnoque et rege subactis
Irlandrense petit regnum, jurique Britanno
Vindicat et subdit. Regis vulgata propinquis
Fama metum generat regnis; et sponte tributum
Pollicitantur ei, ne vi superentur ab illo.
Partibus occiduis tam vi tam sponte Britannis
Subpositis juri, populo clamante triumphum,
In patriam rex regreditur, regnumque quieta
Pace facit gaudere fere ter quatuor annis.
Nobilium interea de quantumcumque remotis
Partibus adveniunt. Juvenes rex letus honorat,
Neoptolomosque facit, et equis armisque decorat,
Muneribusque datis ditat. Venientibus ejus
Omnibus aula patet, nec queritur unde vel ad quid
Quis veniat. Nichil proprium, communia cuncta.
Rex regum tantum servat sibi nominis usum.

Incutit Arturi regnis vulgata remotis
Fama metum. Metuit Germania, menia munit
Gallia, Roma tremuit, non est Hyspania tuta.
Rex simul agnovit se regibus esse timori,
Concipit ingentes animos, classemque refectam
Armatisque viris validis in litora ducit
Norguegie, quam Loth Sichelis, avunculus ejus,
In testamento dederat rex; sed regionis
Ejusdem proceres sibi proposuere Riculphum.
Qui cum Norguegicis adversa fronte resistit
Arturo; tamen ille cadit cum parte suorum.
Norguegicos Dacosque regit diademate sumpto,
Rege sub Arturo, rex Loth, probitate choruscus.
Viribus inde petit collectis bellicus heros
Litora Gallorum, Lacio commissa tribuno;
Gallia Frolloni servit provincia Rome.
Hic sibi subjectos Gallos ad bella paratos
Ducit in Arturum. Pars parti cedere nescit.
Utraque fulmineis telis infestat utramque,
Utraque fraxineis hastis impugnat utramque,
Utraque mortiferis gladiis detruncat utramque,
Utraque sanguineis torrentibus inficit equor,
Utraque dampna sui patitur pars. Dampna minora
Pars subit Arturi; sed pars majora tribuni.
Frollo suos nil posse videns, dat terga Britannis,
Parisiusque fugit, et munit menibus urbem.
Obsidet Arturus munitam milite multo,
Impellit muros. Defendunt menia Galli.
Mense fere elapso Gallos fame depereuntes
Frollo conspiciens, Arturo talia scribit :

"Rex, ait, illustris, cujus preconia laudum
Solis ab occasu solis vulgantur ad ortum,
Ne mea depereat gens et tua marte sub uno,
Cum solo solus ineas Frollone duellum,
Et victi victor habeat sine cismate regnum."
Id placet, id firmo firmatur federe. Sumunt
Arma, vehuntur equis. Quisnam sit major eorum
Aut minor ambigitur, aut quis sit viribus impar.
Haut procul a muro, Secane circundata fluctu,
Insula amena jacet. Pugil illuc tendit uterque.
Distantes spacio mannos calcaribus urgent,
Erectisque adeunt sese velociter hastis,
Dantque graves ictus. Regis felicior hasta
Deicit a sella Frollonem; Frollo, leone
Sevior irato, pretenta cuspide regem
Impetit et sternit. Britones cecidisse videntes
Ad terram regem, festinant ferre jacenti
Auxilium domino, promisso federe rupto,
Cum subito cernunt armatum surgere regem;
Jamque ambo pedites, gladios clipeosque tenentes,
Dissolvunt gladiis clipeos in tempore parvo.
In paris exicio par est intentus et ictu.
Teste probant quante sit eis victoria cure.
Dant crebros ictus; toto conamine Frollo
Allidit regis terebrata cuspide frontem.
Purpurat arma cruor. Quo viso flagrat in ira
Utherides heros, et Merlinus impete miro
Impetit auctorem; strictumque tenens Caliburnum,
Adquirit vires extenso corpore toto,
Astantisque viri galeamque caputque bipartit.

Frollo cadit, rex victor abit, plauduntque Britanni,
Et cives portis regem venerantur apertis.
In partes rex inde duas sua dividit eque
Agmina; magnanimo partem committit Hoelo,
Et partem retinet reliquam sibi, qua regiones
Vicinas superat. Pictavos vincit Hoelus
Cum duce Guitardo, solitosque sitire cruorem
Wascones humanum, posita feritate, Britanno
Subdere colla jugo cogit, legemque subactis
Indicit, ritusque novis inducit, et uti
Nunc primum dapibus communibus edocet illos.
  Delius undecies longum compleverat annum,
Cum rex regreditur cum magna laude triumphi
Parisius; bene pro meritis dat dona maniplis
Larga suis : picerna tibi Normannia tota
In sortem Beduer cessit, concedit habendam
Andegavim Keyo, dat plures pluribus urbes
Oppidaque et villas et opes; sua jura suosque
Inducit ritus, firmat pacemque fidemque.
Vere novo Zephirus dat carbasa, transmeat equor
Occeani, regnumque suum cum plaudibus intrat.
  Ecce dies instat qua pectora discipulorum
Tristia consolans, solidavit celitus ignis.
Illa rite die festum sollempne, vocatis
Regibus et ducibus sibi subjectis, celebrare
Rex cupit Arturus, ut si quid litigiosum
Inciderit, vel judicio vel pace secundet.
Invitata cohors clerique ducumque
Convenit ad regem, quorum si singula metro
Nomina commendem, nimium prolixus habebor.

Nobilis urbs et amena situ quam labilis Osca
Irrigat Eboracum, capiendis apta videtur
Tot populis. Illuc veniunt, regemque salutant
Centum pontifices, prelati mille, bis octo
Reges, viginti fasces, comitesque ducesque
Et proceres, quorum numerum depromere non est
In promptu, multo minus enumerare minores.
Rex igitur, regni sumpto diademate, limen
Ecclesie cathedralis adit, quod turba verenda
Pontificum superat, regumque ducumque caterve.
Quatuor incedunt reges, et quatuor enses
Ante ferunt auri puri fulgore micantes.
Precedens alios cleri processio Regem
Regum collaudat, et dulces personat hymnos;
Regineque gerens insignia regia conjunx,
Presulibus stipata sacris matrumque catervis,
Tendit ad ecclesiam, Juli tibi sancte dicatam.
Quam precedentes precedunt bis duo reges,
Portantes manibus albas de more columbas;
Virgineique chori subtili voce canentes
Precedunt, vocisque movent dulcedine cunctos.
Hic audit regina sacre sollempnia misse.
Illic Arturus, hic dulci voce puelle,
Illic organica pueri dulcedine cantant.
Quamvis magna foret jam pars consumpta diei,
Pars tamen illa brevis presentibus esse videtur.
Inde petunt epulas. Cum rege mares epulantur,
Et cum regina mulieres, more vetusto
Trojane gentis; Keiusque et mille potentes,
Herminio tecti, clarissima, turba ministrant

Diversas epulas; Beduerus totque ministri,
Induti vario, nectar vinumque propinant.
Tyrones leti, vinoque ciboque refecti,
Diversos ineunt ludos. Pars una palestram,
Pars tyrocinium, taxillos tercia querit,
Pars lucte certamen init, pars vincere cursu
Certat. Victores largo rex munere ditat.
Edita murorum mulierum turba coronat.
Cui faveat, pro quo timeat, pro cujus amore
Langueat, omnis habet mulier specialiter illic;
Nulla puella tamen alicui se reddit amicam
Qui tunc non fuerit bello superasse probatus.

# GESTORUM REGUM BRITANNIÆ

## LIBER OCTAVUS.

---

*Incipit octavus liber.*

Destinat octavus legatos. Participato
Consilio procerum dat rex responsa, movetur
Lucius, Eoos reges jubet arma movere.
Congregat Occeani reges Arturus ad Albam.
Utraque pars properat. Galganus Quintilianum
Interimit, refugit; fugientem mille sequuntur.
Obstat Ydernus eis, capit hos, regique ligatos
Tradit; Parisius mittuntur. Lucius illis
Mittit in occursum fortes; missi capiuntur.
Cesar abit pede retrogrado, rex pervenit illuc.
Continuis sollempne tribus celebrare diebus
Conlibuit festum; sed gratos seria ludos
Interruperunt letas mutancia mentes :
Namque senes bis sex moderatis passibus adsunt,
Qui coram rege astantes hec verba profantur :
" Lucius Augustus, cui totus subjacet orbis,
Miratur qua fronte tuas excedere metas
Ausus es, et nostrum jus, juris federe rupto,
Usurpare tibi. Cur in messes alienas
Inmittis falcem? Metis hic ubi semina nulla
Sparsisti, spargis ubi spicas colliget alter.

Quid tibi cum Gallis, quos nostro Julius olim
Subdidit imperio? Cur vectigalia nobis
Reddere contendit subjecta Britannia nostris?
Sis tantum contentus eo quod jure paterno,
Rex Arture, tenes; Rome sua jura remitte.
Brutica stirps, miserere tui, miserere tuorum,
Ne tua forte tuis noceat temeraria virtus.
Romanus princeps te jussit adire senatum,
Conspectumque suum prefixo tempore certo,
Ut pena discente scias quam perniciosum,
Quam grave Romanum fuit offendisse senatum;
Quod si distuleris scelus hoc, manet ultio dira.
Cede flagellatus, proprio privabere regno,
Omnibus amissis, si sit tibi vita relicta.
Principis existet clemencia micior equo."

Vix bene desierant, cum rex in turre gygantum
Congregat electos proceres, ut consulat illos
Quid sit in hoc casu faciendum; dumque gradatim
Ascendunt turrim, letanti corde solutus
Dux Cador in risum sociis coeuntibus inquit:
"Hoc solum metui ne pax diuturna Britannos
Redderet ignavos, delerent occia nostre
Milicie famam, qua cunctis gentibus armis
Preferimur, si pace diu frueremur inertes.
Lustrum transactum est postquam nos gessimus arma.
Inde sumus facti jam desuetudine segnes;
Sed ne depereant nostre preconia fame,
Ecce Dei virtus Romanos suscitat in nos."

Rex igitur septus regum procerumque corona,
Sic ait: "O quorum mentes belloque togaque

Expertus novi, michi pandite quid sit agendum,
Quid respondendum. Temeraria Roma tributum
Exigit a nobis, pretendens premeditatam
Erroris causam. Quia vi perceperat olim
A nostris Cesar vectigal Julius, ex hoc
Jus non adquirit successio Cesaris; immo
Turpiter allegat, dum sic auctoris iniquum
Pretendit titulum quam violencia nullo
Jure facit dominum, nec ei prescripcio prodest.
Ex inconcessis procedere si licet ultra,
Si Rome adquirit violentus predo tributum,
A simili causa nobis est subdita Roma.
An non Belinus et Brennus, ambo Britanni,
Imperiale decus Roma tenuere subacta?
Et Constantinus, Helene clarissima proles,
Prefuit imperio, nec non et Maximianus;
In quorum succedo locum, non degener heres.
Si placet, idque michi, socii, prodesse videtis,
Predecessorum michi reddere jura meorum
Mandabo Rome que privat honore meo me."
Vox erat in cursu dicentis talia regis,
Cum sic excepit rex Armoricanus Hoelus :
"Fluctuo leticia quod te, clarissime regum,
Magnanimum video et tante virtutis habere
Indicium. Tua jura petens, sua jura petendi
Jus tibi Roma dedit : concesso jure fruaris.
Ecce Sibillinum carmen complebitur in te,
Quo cantum est regem venturum ex axe Britanno,
Qui sibi subiciet ferro, flama, fame Romam.
Utere jure dato tibi fatis, utere sceptro

Imperii quod Roma tibi jus fecit habendi.
Cum decies tibi mille viris ad bella paratis
Obsequium faciam; solum hoc specialiter opto
Ut tibi subjectam reddas me milite Romam."
Hiis dictis postquam vocem suppressit Hoelus,
Explicat Auguselus: "Rex maxime, talia regum
Quantam leticiam concepi lingua referre
Nulla potest, postquam concepi te dare dignum
Principe responsum, nec te mutare rigoris
Propositum, nulloque quati terrore minarum.
Roma tumet, fastusque parit, sacramque recusat,
Fasque nephasque sibi licitum facit; omnia credit,
Que jubet aut statuit, vim sacre legis habere;
Omniaque esse putat Romani propria fisci,
Serviciumque sibi partes debere remotas.
Nonne veretur in hiis nature offendere legem,
Que proprium aut servicium condempnata odit?
An non ipsa suam legem de jure subire,
Quam statuit, meruit? Pro legibus indicat esse
Viribus utendum, pociorque in jure videtur
Qui quocumque modo rem possidet indice Roma.
Ergo suas leges, quas condidit, ordo senatus
Senciat; et princeps, qui te servile tributum
Flagitat, inflatus fleat id, similique flagello
Vapulet, et feriat sentencia quam tulit ipsum.
Si nos cum Laciis sub eodem marte venire
Contigerit, quod precipuis desidero votis,
Quam michi libertas placeat quam triste subire
Sit servile jugum, gladio testante probabo.
Aggrediamur eos, ne nos prius aggrediantur.

Assumas pariter equitum duo millia mecum
Et totidem pedites, qui tecum castra sequantur. "
   Finierat rex Auguselus, cum cetera regum
Turba, ducumque cohors, votis et vocibus ipsum
Arma movere monent pro libertate tuenda
Utheriden. Quot quisque potest, equites peditesque,
Regis in obsequium secum deducere taxat.
Gallia promittit equitum bix sex legiones;
Excedit numerum peditum promissio certum.
   Rex igitur gaudens tot fortes esse paratos
Ejus in obsequium, grates impendit eisdem
Regibus et ducibus, et eos ad propria mittit;
Et jubet ut veniant cicius terraque marique
Ad Barbam fluvium cum turbis prenumeratis;
Assignatque diem venturis cetibus, illam
In qua de manibus Petri cecidere cathene.
Hiis dictis, proceres propere de turre gygantum
Descendunt, patriasque petunt; cum rex duodenis
Respondens senibus, quos princeps miserat, inquit :
" Dicite Romanis qui vos misere, Britannos
Romano juri nullo de jure subesse;
Nosque sciant in marte feros, in pace quietos.
Romam munitus veniam non ere, sed armis,
Ut rapiam aut reddam victor victusve tributum. "
Inde senes Romam redeunt, responsaque regis
Romanis referunt. Auditis Roma movetur.
Lucius, audito responso regis, ab axe
Convocat eos, reges procerumque catervas.
Egyptus Libie, Babilonia, Grecia, Crete
Merent discessum regum procerumque suorum.

Rex Frigie Teuther, medio rex Bocus, Echion
Persarum, Evander Syrie, rex Ytireorum
Herses, regnorumque duces, equitum legiones
Bis sex adducunt Romam. Romana potestas
Arma capit, sua castra movet, civesque Quirini
Flentes prospiciunt Romam non prospiciendam
Amplius, et sponsam flentem flens ipse relinquit
Sponsus; in amplexus uxor pia conjugis heret.
Filius in patris brevibus cervice lacertis
Pendens exclamat : " Quo te, pater, eripis, aut cui
Deseris uxorem? cui me fratresque relinquis?
Deserimur fratres uno genitore pupilli. "
Ecce puellarum pulcherrima credita virgo,
Tacta tamen tecto pulchri tyronis amore,
Egreditur talamis, et quem celaverat ignem
Detegit insano Veneris stimulata furore;
Namque velut bache, stimulis exercita Bachi,
In furias rapitur, sparsis in terga capillis,
Sic ea mentis inops, vultu prodente furorem,
Se jacit in turbas, juvenis retentat habenas
Et clamans : " Meus est, meus est; quo te rapis? inquit;
Quid tibi cum bellis solitis inducere mortem?
Quid cum Normannis? Quid cum feritate Britanna?
Quid tibi cum Scotis, cum Pictis et Venedotis?
Arturum timeo, qui cum Frollone duellum
Commisit, mortique dedit rex ipse triumphans
Loth, Cador, Auguselus, Keius, Galganus, Hoelus.
Hec audita sono solo me nomina terrent.
Nulla domus plangore caret, via nulla querelis;
Feminei planctus et voces aera pulsant,

Horrisonos tonitrus reboat resonabilis Eucho.
Exequias vivi facit uxor mesta mariti.
Interea Occeani sulcatur classibus equor,
In quibus Occasus reges proceresque feruntur
Ad Barbam fluvium cum turbis prenumeratis.
At rex regine curam regnique Modredo
Committit, portumque petit qui dicitur *Hamon*.
Occius ascendunt classem, dant lintea vento.
Nocte fere media rex sompniat, et sibi visum est :
Ursus ab Hyspana plaga venit, et draco dirus
Surgit ab australi. Bellum committitur ingens
Inter eos; tandem dirus dracho prevalet urso.
Evigilans sua recolit sompnia, visa revelat
Auguribus, quorum Gerio doctissimus inquit :
" Te dracho presignat, bone rex, ursusque gygantem
Quem conculcabis gladio, cervice recisa. "
Crastina lux oritur, optati litora portus
Tota tenet classis. De navibus egrediuntur
Et sua castra locant. Arturo fama gygantem
Advenisse refert, et neptem regis Hoeli
Subripuisse Helenam, montisque tenere cacumen
Haud procul inde siti. Qui cum maris estuat unda,
Insula fit; cum se retrahit, facilis datur illuc
Ingressus pedibus. Rex illuc rite, duobus
Contentus sociis, Keyo simul et Beduero,
Ducit iter; montesque duos, quorum minor alter,
Conspiciunt, magnosque focos in utroque micantes;
Ignorant in quo maneat cum virgine raptor.
In parva vehitur Beduer picerna phaselo,
Solus, ut exploret quis mons sit mansio monstri;

Et venit ad montem, casu ducente, minorem,
Ascendensque audit vocem mulieris; ad ignem
Accedit, tumbamque videt, juxtaque sedentem
Cernit anum flentem, plangentem pectus inane,
Talia dicentem, singultu verba sequente :
" Seve deus, cur me post care funus alumpne
Vivere permittis, si fas est dicere vitam
Que nece fit gravior et pena sevior omni?
O quam, virgo, tue genus est miserabile mortis!
Hoc tamen ipsa michi solacia mortua prebes,
Quod tumulata jaces sine dampno virginitatis. "
Vox erat in cursu subito cum sustulit ora,
Conspectoque viro : " Que te demencia, dixit,
Duxit in hunc montem? Miseranda morte peribis
Hoste sub infando, presenti nocte. Recede
Dum licet. Ille gygas, monstrum deforme, cruorem
Humanum siciens, veniet cum fauce cruenta,
Et male dispersum vacuo te condet in alvo.
Cujus in amplexu forma perterrita monstri,
Non corrupta tamen, vitam finivit Hoeli
Neptis, quam proprio nutrivi lacte; dedique
Defunctam tumulo, quem sic custodio lugens.
At postquam fedo coitu fedare nequivit
Ille gygas Helenam preventam morte, furoris
In me convertit rabiem, mecumque coivit;
Sed celum testor et celi jura, michi vim
Intulit invite. Miser, hinc fuge! jam venit ille
Ad solitum coitum. Si nos invenerit una,
Quam fame, quam telo, duplicata seviet ira. "
Hiis verbis commotus, ait : " Dimitte querelas,

Pone metus; veniet qui te de carcere monstri
Eripiet, vindex oppresse neptis Hoeli. "
Inde redit, regique refert que vidit; at ille
Virginis interitum male fert, sociosque precatur
Ut sibi cum solo soli certare gygante
Concedant; nec opem prestent, nisi forte subesse
Conspiciant ipsum nec posse resistere monstro.
Hinc ad majoris tendunt fastigia montis :
Ecce, pudor! matris Nature dedecus, horror
Obprobriumque hominum, porcorum tabe cruenta
Ora gerens, barbam concretam sanguine fedo,
Distortum nasum, dentes non ordine justo
Dispositos, fauces patulas, Acherontis ad instar,
Obliquos oculos, caput admirabile visu,
Innatas setas in toto corpore gestans,
Non alias vestes; ardenti presidet igni.
Qui simul aspexit regem regisque sodales,
Clavam quam duo vix juvenes extollere possent,
Extollit manibus. Denudat rex Caliburnum,
Pretensoque Gygen clipeo petit; ille Trivodem
Extollens clavam clipeum ferit, et sonus ictus
Litora tota replet. Rex impetit ense gygantem,
Et ferit in frontem. Sanguis de fronte redundat,
Sanguinis unda fluens excecat lumina monstri;
Non tamen est lesus letali vulnere, namque
Opposita gladio clava fit parcior ictus.
Acrior effectus post vulnus, fertur in ipsum
Vulneris auctorem, mediumque amplectitur hostem,
Et genua ad terram obstrictum flectere cogit.
Viribus exurgens revocatis, marcius heros

Terque quaterque ferum gladio ferit. Imprimit ensem
Terrigene cerebro; clamat, cadit, ingemit ejus
Et trepidat mater, vetuit vicinia motum.
  Rex igitur cernens corpus exangue jacentis,
Solvitur in risum, sociisque stupentibus inquit :
  Inter terrigenas monstro quod cernitis isto
Nullum depressi truculencius esse, Ritone
Excepto, qui peliciam sibi fecerat atrox
Ex barbis regum quos interfecerat ipse.
Excoriare meam barbam mihi jussit, honoris
Tantum promittens quod eam barbis aliorum
Consertam venerans in summa parte locaret;
Cumque recusarem dare quod quesiverat ille,
Aravion monte commisimus ambo duellum.
Quem domui, mortique dedi. ” Caput ergo gygantis
Amputat, et secum repetens tentoria transfert.
Castrorum turmas inducit, causa videndi
Exiciale caput; et dignum carmine laudum
Extollunt regem, qui tam mirabile monstrum
Devicit, civesque suos a peste redemit.
  At rex Armoricus, quem neptis fata molestant,
Ecclesiam condit illic, ubi virgo sepulta
Est Helene, Tumbamque Helenes jubet ille vocari
Montis congeriem, que sic nunc usque vocatur.
Inde celer rex castra movens producit ad Albam
Innumeras acies, illic tentoria tendit;
Nam prope Romanos cives sua castra locasse
Fama refert; sed rex inmotus mittit ad illos
Tres proceres, quorum sunt nomina : Boso, Gerinus,
Galganusque nepos regis, qui talia dicunt :

" Arturus, cujus tu jussis obvias, ipso
Te facto dampnat. Tibi precipit, inclite Luci,
Ut dum res patitur, fugias de partibus istis. "
Quintilianus eis, ira dictante, loquutus
Est ita : " Sunt Britones tam re quam nomine Bruti,
Quorum bella mine, quorum jactancia virtus.
Non venit ut fugiat, sed ut effuget imperialis
Majestas. Britones fugiant, regnoque Britanno
Intenti reddant nobis sine lite tributum. "
Plura loquuturum Galganus lumine torvo
Prospiciens, sic inquit ei : " Te teste probabo
Non linguis tantum Britones prodesse, sed armis. "
Dixit, et extracto gladio caput amputat ejus.
Inde vehuntur equis et eos calcaribus urgent
Legati, repetuntque suos. Romana juventus
Illos insequitur, vindictam sumere prompti
De nece concivis; sed loris Boso reductis
Raptus in Hesperios, vibrata traicit hasta
Insignem juvenem Fabia de gente creatum.
Quod cum Carnoti consul videt, invidet ejus
Actis, et versa facie se mittit in hostes;
Et feriens ticium qui proximus obviat illi,
Deicit a sella letali vulnere lesum.
Imminet a tergo Galgano Mucius; illum
Galganus perimens, a corpore dividit ejus
Et caput et galeam; dicit quoque Quintiliano :
" Junctus in inferno Britones linguaque manuque
Esse probos te teste proba, reprobosque probato "
Ytalicos sociosque duos hortatur et inquit :
" Invicti proceres, mecum properate, Quirites

Sternite." Semimares properant, sternuntque propinquos,
Quisque suum; propere victores inde recedunt.
Vallis opaca jacet, nemoroso robore densa :
Hic latitant Britonum sex milia, qui sociorum
Adventum expectant; sociis fugientibus, illuc
Consociantur eis, et in hostes consociati
Insultum faciunt. In primo mille Quirites
Conflictu pereunt, capiuntur mille; fugatur
Cetera pars, donec Petroius cum pluribus illis
Venit in auxilium, ducens bis quinque virorum
Milia, qui Britones retro dare cogit habenas
Et remeare citis ad silvam gressibus, unde
Exierant. Nemoris ingressus obice firmo
Armorum servant, incurrentique resistunt
Impetui, sternuntque suos viriliter hostes.
Filius Ennuti mire probitatis Ydernus
Quinque milia equitum, sociis fugientibus, hostes
Ducit in auxilium. Sociis audacia crescit.
Qui modo terga dabant, dant pectora mutua partes.
Vulnera dant stragemque parem; sed caucius instant
Aut fugiunt Lacii. Quem dux instruit illos
Nunc dare terga fuge, nunc impugnare rebelles;
At Britones sine lege ruunt, nec vincere tanto
Affectu captant quanta probitate probari :
Inde fit ut passim graviore strage prematur.
Quod cum Bosoni compertum est, convocat
Sejungitque viros fortes quos noverat acres
Milicieque avidos, et talia disserit illis :
" Magnanimi juvenes, sine nutu regis inimus
Presens certamen. Si nos contingat in isto

Devinci bello, quod abhominor, improbitatis
Arguet Arturus victos, et senciet inde
Dampna sue partis, necnon audacia crescet
Agminis Ytalici nostris in parte subactis;
Sed via nulla patet per quam victoria nobis
Plauserit arridens, nisi capto sive perempto
Consule Petreio. Rumpentes ergo catervas
Romane gentis, illum capiamus, et omnes
Committent sua terga fuge." Paretur, in ipsum
Incurrunt, capitur, captumque per agmen amicum
Ducit eum Boso. Concurrunt inde Quirites
Ejus in auxilium; Britonum conserta resistunt
Agmina Romanis; clamor, turbacio, cedes
Et strepitus fiunt. Illic apparet aperte
Quis telo, vel quis gladio bene pugnat utrinque.
Acephali tandem Lacii, capto duce, campum
Destituunt; Britones cedencia terga cruentant,
Prosternunt, spoliant, capiunt, captosque ligatos
Presentant regi. Rex, lete gaudia mentis
Vix retinens, donat victores divite dono.
Inde Cador, Beduer, Borellus, Richeriusque,
Innumerique alii quibus isti bis duo presunt,
Parisius ducunt captivos rege jubente.
Lucius id meditans tria milia quinque virorum
Eligit, et reges Sirie Libiesque, duosque
Quos decorant fasces, illis proponit, eosque
Mittit in occursum missorum regis in atre
Noctis secreto. Latitant in valle, suosque
Expectant hostes. Veniunt, captosque Britanni
Adducunt Lacios, quos vallis clauserat atra.

Emergunt hostes. Subito percussa pavore
Vix bene tela capit, vix ponit in ordine turmas,
Regis missa cohors; tamen est divisa, duasque
Scinditur in partes: unam que pugnet, et unam
Que captos servet. Servati preficiuntur
Richerius, Beduer, pugnat et Cornubiensis
Dux Cador et consul Borellus; sed Laciorum
Turma furens sine lege ruit, sternitque Britannos.
Tum disponuntur in turmas agmina regis.
Desperant, ceduntque fere, cum dux Aquitanus
Comperit insidias, et secum ducit in hostes
Guitardus ter mille viros ad bella paratos,
Cum quibus admixti Britones Romana repellunt
Agmina; sed multos in primo marte suorum
Amittunt. Borellus obit perimente Syrorum
Rege illum; dat terga fuge Romana juventus,
Et fugiens repetit tentoria. Vulnere cesa.
Terga gerens, percussus obit Vulcheius, et rex
Evander Siricus; occumbunt et capiuntur
Quos fuga non redimit. Plaudit victoria nostris.
Parisius primo mittunt, captosque secundo
Ad regem ducunt. A paucis tot superati
Prestant Arturo Romanos spem superandi.
　Lucius attonitus, audita strage suorum,
Quid faciat dubitat, pugnet, cedatve Britannis;
Eligit ut cedat, dum possit habere Leonis
Principis auxilium: movet ergo castra sequenti
Nocte; locum querens totum sibi, Legrias intrat.
Comperit Arturus Lacios fugisse, fugamque
Prevenit illorum; disponit in ordine turmas,

Hortaturque suos, et talia disserit illis :
" Participes operum que gessi, carmine digna,
Quorum consilio, quorum virtute subegi
Tot mundi partes, quibus omnis se movet orbis,
Ecce dies optata venit qua Roma securi
Nostre colla dabit, periisse tributa pigebit.
Cum dare cogetur, nobis eterna petatur
Libertas gladiis ; sit servus degener omnis,
Cui sua languebit feriendo dextera ; quem non
Terrebit numerus, pius est, et criminis expers,
Qui, ne servicium subeat, desevit in hostes.
" Lucius et Lacii totam sibi spem remeandi
In turpem posuere fugam, nostra arma timentes ;
Legrias intrarunt ; ne summo mane fugaces
Alpinos montes repetant, precessimus illos.
Huc veniente die venient, capiemur inermes
Illos armati, vel detruncabimur ense.
Pugna tamen nostris erit instans dissona gestis ;
Nam nichil obscure, nichil egimus insidiose.
Cuncta palam, claroque die, nil nocte gerendum
Duximus. Ytalici semper fraudesque dolosque
Moliri norunt : non est, me judice, culpa
Fallere fallaces, fraudemque repellere fraude.
Vincamus victos, modica est laus ista triumphi,
Magna tamen merces : presens certamen ab ortu
Solis ad occasum totum mihi subjugat orbem ;
Subjugat et vobis. Tantum victoris habere
Nomen amo ; vobis urbes, castella, domosque
Et villas et opes et cetera comoda trado. "
Vix ea finierat, et concita concio tota

Arma petit, dampnatque moras, bellumque requirit
Vocibus et votis; jam nondum marte subacto,
Non eciam cepto, victores esse videntur.
Insidiis igitur compertis Lucius istis,
Nil opus esse fuga sibi credens, convocat ad se
Hortaturque suos et talia verba profatur :
" O proceres quibus est Romana potencia curæ!
Obsecro, vestrorum memores estote parentum,
Qui ne Romanum sevo subcumberet hosti
Imperium, proprium minime renuere cruorem
Fundere; et exemplum probitatis posteritati
Forte relinquentes, Romam sibi proposuere,
Sepius assueti quam vinci vincere, nostrum
Jus augmentarunt; quorum Respublica semper
Consilio crevit, quorum virtute Quirino
Subditus imperio servit quadrangulus orbis.
Vos igitur moneo, vos deprecor, aucta parentum
Sanguine vestrorum defendite jura; Quirini
Culminis et Britones invadite vindice ferro,
Qui soli nostrum de cunctis quos habet orbis
Erecta cervice statum pervertere curant. "
Vix dictis finem dederat cum turba senatus
Et regum, cetusque ducum, procerumque cohortes,
Jurando dicunt quod pristina jura tuentes
Urbis Romulee que toti presidet orbi,
Non metuent mortem subeundo perdere vitam;
Attamen in vultu tam principis ista jubentis
Quam promittendum firma hec promissa potentum,
De facili potuit belli pars victa notari.
Protinus armantur omnes, urbemque relinquunt,

Ad vallem tendunt, ubi rex expectat eorum
Forti mente fugam, sese pars utraque cernit.
  Quis furor, o fortes! pro regno deperituro
Perdere perpetuum regnum? perdetis utrumque
Excedendo modum. Contenta Britannia fine
Debuit esse suo. Potuit quoque Roma tributum
Quod petit injuste non exegisse; sed hostes
Humani generis cui fas, rectumque fidemque
Esse nephas constat, quem turbant tempora pacis,
Partibus arma parat, permittit utraque triumphum.
Nec curat quam letificet victoria partem,
Qui princeps, qui principium, qui causa malorum
Seminat insidias, odium parit, excitat urbem,
Dissolvit leges, nodos denodat amorum;
Suppliciumque suum est hominum benefacta videre
Successusque, bonis et derogat invidus actis.
Et quamvis sedem nusquam est aditurus eamdem,
Quam miser amisit, tamen odit et impedit omnes
Quos optare videt in eadem sede sedere.
Qui didicit, doctrice phisi, quo fallere possit
Corde dolo cicius, sunt qui contagia vitant
Illicite Veneris; fatuis tamen efficit illos
Virginibus similes. Alii sunt non violenti,
Non fures, non falsidici; tamen inficit illos
Crimen avaricie, quod et est cultura deorum.
Est alius, qui pauperibus dispergit habunde
Plurima; sed tantum sibi colligit inde favorem
Humane laudis, et prodit rem meritumque.
Exornant alios facundia, lingua diserta,
Larga manus, facies illustris, dextera fortis,

Virtutesque alie; sed sola superbia cunctas
Suffocat. In Britones Lacios hec unica movit.

# GESTORUM REGUM BRITANNIÆ

## LIBER NONUS.

*Incipit nonus liber.*

Nonus agit bellum. Victoria, Cesare ceso,
Arturo cedit. Nova narrat fama Modredum
Arturi violasse thorum : regreditur ergo
In patriam. Precludit iter redeuntis adulter :
Hec causa est virtusque necis. Successor eorum
Est Constantinus. Sequitur Conanus eundem,
Illum Vortiporus, hunc Malgo, Carecius illum.
Discidium civile furit, legacio Rome
Despicitur, regale datur sceptrum Caduano.
Filius ejus eum sequitur Caduallo parentem.
Visibus humanis, premissa nocte, cometes
Luciferum capud exeruit, tot regibus omen
Triste; striges et noctis aves cecinere propinquas
Tot procerum strages, ululantum rixa luporum
Latratusque canum; respondensque omnibus Echo
Incussere metum cunctis. Aurora maritum
Decrepitum fugiens, confuso sanguine vultu,
Obtusis radiis lacrimisque fluentibus orta,
Prestitit instantis presagia certa ruine.
Surgit ab Eois solito maturius horis
Phebus; et ut vidit acies et bella parata,

Pallidus et tristis et languens lumine torvo
Induxit sub nube caput, radiosque reduxit,
Ne videat tot fata ducum, tot funera regum.
Dispositis igitur Laciis hinc, inde Britannis,
In medium Bellona venit, gladiosque ministrat
Telaque militibus. Par est affectus eorum,
Et dispar numerus : numero Romana caterva
Excedit Britones, illum virtute Britanni.
Ecce ruunt partis acies utriusque tumultus,
Et fragor armorum; strepitus et clangor et Echo
Omnia confuse roboant, finguntque supremum
Advenisse diem. Rediisse elementa putares
In chaos antiquum, rerum compage soluta.
Auguselus fortisque Cador, dux Cornubiensis,
Agmen commissum precedunt. Obviat illis
Cum sibi commissa sibi legione Catellus,
Hesperiosque suos secum convertit; at illi
Hostibus obsistunt. Dant vulnera mutua partes;
Ex collisura gladiorum flamma coruscat.
Inde Gerinus adest, et Boso cum legione;
Cui presunt, stantes ineunt, rumpuntque cohortes;
Parthorumque petunt regem, qui impugnat Achillem,
Regem Dacorum. Furit illic Daca bipennis.
Bachantur gladiis, nullius dextera torpet
Stantis in interitum partis. Pars altera certat,
Utraque pars patitur et agit; sed strage premuntur
Majori Britones. Beduer picerna peremptus
Occidit, et Keyus letali saucius ictu;
Nam cum pugnaret Beduer cum rege Medorum,
Occumbit gladio. Cujus miserabile letum

Dum vult uscisci *(sic)*, Keius sub pectore vulnus
Letiferum recipit; Libies tamen agmina regis
Irrumpens, socii transfert exangue cadaver
Ad vultum Arturi, non multum longius illo
Victurus. Luctus oritur per castra dolorque
Et clamor; sed eos instans certaminis hora
Non patitur lugere diu; sed fortis Hyrelglas,
Strenuus ille nepos Bedueri, tristis et amens
Ob mortem patrui, juvenes in marte feroces
Eligit, et secum ducens in bello trecentos,
Vexillum regis Medie petit, impetit ense,
Regem prosternit, perimit ducitque peremptum
Ad patrui corpus, totumque in frusta recidit,
Et monet inde suos invadere fortiter hostes.
Invadunt sternuntque viros, sternuntur et ipsi.
Rex cadit Hyspanis, occumbit rex Babylonis,
Totque senatores et plurima turba virorum
Corruit ex Laciis. Ex nostris sunt duo reges
Tresque duces cesi, quorum dant agmina terga
Versa fuge, cesis dominis; et regis Hoeli
Galganique ducis comitatum concomitantur.
Orba cohors dominis se copulat Armoricanis,
Et simul arma gerunt, simul instant. Turba Quiritum
Ante fugans dat terga fuge, que non fugiebat.
Pars Britonum fugat Hesperios, lacerantque catervas.
Ense viam faciente, viri conamine toto
Ad turmam tendunt, ubi Cesar Lucius astat.
Qui simul aspexit sociorum fata suorum,
Inmodice motus medios se mittit in hostes.
Tunc oritur clamor et lamentabile bellum.

Mille cadunt Britonum, perimuntur mille Quiritum.
Laudibus insignes, rex Armoricanus Hoelus
Et dux Galganus, quorum quis forcior armis
Aut quis sit major non est depromere promptum,
Precedunt cuneos, gladiis secantibus, hostes.
Cesaris irrumpunt cuneum, nullumque virorum
Formidant numerum. Pereunt, perimentibus illis,
Mille viri; per rura vage ruit unda cruoris.
Porro Galganus, quo nil ardencius obstat,
Cesaris impetui velox, velocis ad instar
Fluminis, occurrit, et eum stricto impetit ense.
Lucius exultat, quia cum tam milite forti,
Cum tam magnanimo potuit certamen inire.
Ambo pares etate, pari probitate chorusci,
Viribus equales, equali mente superbi,
Mutua bella gerunt, crebros dant ensibus ictus.
Alter in alterius dispendia mortis inhelat,
Cum Romana cohors accedit, et Armoricanos
Cogit ad Arturum festino tendere gressu.
Arturus succurrit eis, dicitque : " Fideles
Et fortes socii, mecum properate, Quirinos
Sternite semimares, titulisque adjungite nostris. "
Parent; apparet cui mens adquirere laudem,
Incurrendo necem; regem precedere malunt
Quam vincendo sequi. Rex extracto Caliburno,
Irruit in Lacios, sternit ceditque facitque
Ense viam; quemcumque semel ferit, ad Stiga mittit.
Sternit equos equitesque simul. Veluti Jovis ales
Dispergit volucres, veluti leo nobilis ire,
Quem stimulat jejuna fames et ventris inanis,

Ingluvie pellente rapax, avidusque cruoris,
Se gerit in tauros, rapit hos et dissipat illos,
Sic in Romanos desevit marcius heros.
Ecce duo reges, fato rapiente sinistro,
Arturi simul ense cadunt; quemcumque vel hasta
Sauciat aut gladio, vitam cum sanguine fundunt.
Excitat Arturus Britones, Cesarque Quirites
Ad bene pugnandum. Pugnant quandoque Quirites,
Excellunt Britones, illos quandoque Britanni.
Dum sic ambigitur cui faverit alea Martis,
Claudiocestrensis consul Morindus in hostes
Cum legione sua ruit, irrumpitque cohortes
Cesaris, a dorso veniens, nil tale timentis.
Lucius imperio cedit, percussus in imo
Pectore letifere Morindi cuspidis ictu.
Desperant Lacii nec cessant, Cesare ceso,
Cedere cedenti, donec victoria cessit
Brutigenis, victrixque tulit pars omnia victe.
Inde suos proceres in eodem marte peremptos
Separat a Laciis Britonum rex, et sepeliri
Mandat honorifice, nec non et corpora condi
In tumulis Romana jubet ictu Laciorum,
Cesareumque facit portari corpus ad urbem
Romuleam, patribus sed vectigale petito.
Ponderat in Libra sol tempora pondere justo
Equatum cum nocte diem, cum victor ad urbes
Allobrogum tendit, et eas sibi subjugat illic.
Expectat dum cedat hyemps, et dampna diei
Restituens Aries nocturnas subtrahat horas,
Ut, nive cessante, cum prima volarit hyrundo,

Transvolet alpinos cum multo milite montes
Ytaliamque sibi Romamque, dolente senatu,
Subdat, et imperii moderetur frena subacti.
  Sed Deus opposuit tantis sua numina votis;
Nam violasse thorum regis, regnique Britanni
Usurpasse sibi sumptum diadema Modredum,
Fama refert, minime justum, minimeque fidelem.
In sibi commissis auditis anxius istis,
Gallorum curam regi committit Hoelo;
Inque suum regnum, cum regibus insulularum,
Occeani pede retrogrado terras equora tendit.
At rex intrusus, sceleris temerarius auctor,
Fedus init cum Saxonicis, et tradit eisdem
Plagam illam regni; fluvioque distat ab Humbro
Ad Scotos populos, et quas Engistus et Horsus
Sub Vortigerno terras tenuere. Chericus
Dux octogentas, Euro impellente, carinas
Plenas paganis populis armisque Modredo
Ducit in auxilium. Modredus convocat omnes
Vicinos quos ejus habebat avunculus hostes,
Et venit ad Rutupi portum cum multiplicato
Agmine pagane gentis populique fidelis.
Occurrens Arturus eis se mittit in illos.
Mille cadunt utrinque viri, cadit inclitus ille
Galganus, cadit Auguselus rex Scoticus; ejus
Yvenus fratris Uriani filius, illum
In regnum sequitur, fortem fortissimus heros.
Arturus, tandem magna vi litus adeptus,
Modredum cuneosque suos ostendere terga
Cogit, inhonestas cedes in terga gerentes.

Impius inde fugit ct tendit nocte sequenti
Wintoniam. Regina subit venerabile templum,
Virgineoque choro se conserit, et vidualem
Assumit vitam, viduam mentita; duobus
Nupta tamen, vivisque viris incesta secundi.
At rex Arturus, quia tot cecidere suorum
Anxius et tristis, defuncta cadavera condit
Vestigatque suos, aquila velocior, hostes,
Wintoniamque petit, et eam regemque Modredum
Obsidet. Egressus cicius Modredus ab urbe
Tendit in Arturum. Quot ibi pars utraque fortes
Amiserit, mandare stilo non est breve. Tandem
Destituit campum pars perfida, victa recedit;
Cornubiamque adiens dispersa recolligit illic
Agmina, et expectant regem proceresque sequentes.
Currit harenosus eterno Canibula cursu.
Undique conveniunt illuc, et bella minantur
Intestina sibi, fraterno federe fracto.
In jugulum fratris intendit frater, anhelat
Filius in patrem; victa pietate paterna,
Inminet exicio nati pater : omnia jura
Nature confusa jacent, concessa videntur
Fasque nephasque simul, gladio dum vincere captat.
Qui fera tela tenet, non curat quid sit honestum;
Esse tamen constat merore molestius omni
Et nece deterius, quod tanta licencia ferri
Sit data paganis in Christi dilanianda
Membra. Modrede, tuum facinus, populique Britanni
Dedecus eternum, miser et miserande, misertus
Esto tui, miserere tuis. Tibi federa nulla

Sint cum Saxonibus; nam rem cum nomine ducunt
Saxones a saxis, quibus hii sunt asperiores
Austerique magis. Hostes exclude malignos,
Teque reconcilia regi regnoque tuisque.
Peccasti, te peniteat; tibi parcior hostis
Rex erit Arturus quam Saxones. Ille laborat,
Armaque justa gerit pro libertate tuorum.
Illi nituntur, et votis omnibus optant
Ut subeas servile jugum; nescisque quod olim
Fecerat Engistus genero socer impius? Illi
Eripuit regnum. Manet ardor in omnibus idem:
Ejusdem generis te proles prodiciosa
Prodere molitur. Dum res sinit ipsa, resiste;
Sed quia regnandi te tangit tanta cupido,
Cedere te regi vetat angelus ambicionis;
Et memor ipse sui casus causeque ruine,
Consimile capiens te crimine tollit in altum,
Ut te deiciat lapsum graviore ruina.
Ecce tui sceleris celer et fortissimus ultor,
Cum virtute venit ut Saxones obruat armis,
Quos tociens domuit et ab hac regione fugavit,
Cujus virtutem quadrangulus orbis obhorret.
Wallia servit ei, famulatur Hybernia victa,
Scocia subicitur, Illandria mitis obedit,
Norguegia assurgit, subcumbit Dacia, cedit
Francia, Roma fere facta est provincia, ceso
Cesare; vectigal promittit solis ab ortu,
Regibus orbatus, orbis se sponte daturum
Ad gelidas Alpes, populumque subjacet artho.
Causa duplex trepidare facit quos torrida torret;

Arturi terrore tremunt. Hyspania pacem
Postulat et veniam poscit; quicumque superbe
Contradicit ei, se dampnat, seque reatus
Reprobat esse reum nec dignum ducere vitam.
O miser! o victure parum, quis te trahit error
Ut superare putes cum paucis hostibus illum
Quem totus metuit mundus, quem totus obhorret
Antipodum populus, cui mortis causa, propheta
Merlino testante, via est, si credimus illi?
Sed quod fatorum contra decreta venire
Nulli permissum est, ad bellum tendit uterque.
Ante datum fatis, acies disponit uterque.
Modredus statuit tres turmas et legionem
Qualibus in turma ponit; sibi sex legiones
Servat, et observant ipsum. Sublimis aperta
Voce suos socios exhortans, sic ait illis :
  " O juvenes fortesque viri, prosternite mecum
Emeritos paucosque senes, quos longa malorum
Debilitat series, vesterque possidet hostis.
Assigno vobis urbes, castella domosque. "
Agmina vero novem, totidem commissa magistris,
Ordinat Arturus, et eis hoc ordine dicit :
" O procerum generosa cohors! o munere quorum
Me metuit mundus, quorum belloque togaque
Consilio fretus domui tot climata mundi!
Ecce phalanx perjura, vage loca congrua querens,
Cornubiam peciit; nec habens quo prodeat ultra,
Restat ibi, de se desperans, cunctaque relinquit
Arbitrio fati. Laus est et fama perhennis
Tot simul a paucis superari, nec labor ingens.

Adde quod arma gerunt contra rectumque piumque,
Non veriti temerare fidem patrumque statuta.
Nos pia causa movet patriam defendere nostram.
Quis putet in bello stabiles dominoque fideles
Saxones empticios, pro munere castra sequentes?
Cum clangor lituum, voces, hynitus equorum,
Cum fragor armorum, strepitus resonabilis Echo,
Ingeminans voces, irruperit aera, viles
Terga dabunt conducticii, campumque relinquent."
Nec mora, concurrunt acies, tantoque fragore
Aer concutitur, quantus fieret resolutis
In Chaos antiquum celo terraque marique.
In primo belli conflictu, mille sagittis,
Mille cadunt jaculis. Gladiis, seges alta virorum,
Secta jacent membra. Late ruit unda cruoris
Et fluit in fluvium. Naturam Canibula fontis
Mutatam stupet esse sui; transcendit inundans
Sanguineus torrens ripas, et ducit in equor
Corpora cesorum. Plures natare videres
Et petere auxilium, quos nondum vita relinquit.
Dum stat in ambiguo cui parti gloria laudis
Cesserit, ecce ruit Arturus cum legione
Quam sibi servarat, illuc ubi stare Modredum
Conspicit, et tendit, gladio ductore, per hostes.
A dextra levaque cadunt quos enumerare
Non est in promptu; cadit auctor prodicionis
Causaque Modredus. Tamen agmina prodiciosi
Ceso non cedunt domino, sed fortiter instant;
Et sternunt Britones, necnon sternuntur ab illis.
Agmina cuncta fere pereunt, regesque ducesque,

Vivo tamen rege, cui mortis janua clausa
Creditur Arturo. Stat et hic, in pectore vulnus
Letiferum gestans; regni diadema Britanni
Dat Constantino genito genitore Cadore.
Cingitur Occeano memorabilis insula, nullis
Desolata bonis : non fur, non predo nec hostis
Insidiatur ibi; non nix, non bruma nec estas
Inmoderata furit; pax et concordia perpes,
Ver tepet eternum. Nec flos nec lilia desunt,
Nec rosa nec viole; flores et poma sub una
Fronde gerit pomus; habitant sine labe pudoris
Semper ibi juvenis cum virgine. Nulla senectus
Nullaque vis morbi, nullus dolor; omnia plena
Leticie; proprium nichil hic, communia queque.
Regia virgo locis et rebus presidet istis,
Virginibus stipata suis pulcherrima pulchris
Nimpha, decens vultu, generosis patribus orta,
Consilio pollens, medicine nobilis arte.
Que, simul Arturus regni diadema reliquit
Substituitque sibi regem, se transtulit illuc
Anno quingeno quadragenoque secundo
Post incarnatum sine patris semine Verbum.
Immodice lesus Arturus tendit ad aulam
Regis Avallonis, ubi virgo regia vulnus
Illius tractans, sanati membra reservat
Ipsa sibi; vivuntque simul, si credere fas est.
Inde duo fratres, Modredi perfida proles,
In Constantinum convertunt. Ille feroci
Mente resistit eis, et eos ostendere terga
Versa fuge cogit. Fratrum fugit unus ad urbem

Londoniam, fugit Eboracum perterritus alter.
Quos rex insequitur et eos interficit infra
Ecclesias, aliosque suos exterminat hostes.
Inde tribus regnum rexit feliciter annis.
Ense nepotis obit Conani, qui tamen illi
Succedit; juvenis mire probitatis, in ipso
Subjecti dignus regni diademate, si non
Esse videretur belli civilis amator;
Nam Constantini fratrem, qui proximus illi
Post ejus mortem succedere debuit, ense
Interimit, parvosque duos quos ille crearat,
Desistitque anno regni regnare secundo.
Vortiporus succedit ei, quem Saxones armis
Infestant; sed eos eliminat. Inde quieta
Pace frui Britones ceperunt quatuor annis.
Rege dato fatis Malgo, succedit eidem
Deffensor patrie, largus dator, hostibus hostis,
Ore decens, membris robustus, corpore magnus;
Sed tamen has omnes virtutes unica labes
Adnichilat penitus, cujus narratio nares
Offendit Domini, penetratque ad sidera fetor.
Qui simul Occeani superavit sex regiones,
De medio sublatus adit vel culmina celi,
Vel sedes Herebi, mediumve quod omnia purgat,
Que recipit proprioque loco purgata remittit.
Inde sibi sumit diadema Carecius, hostis
Justicie, patrie populator, amator iniquus
Nequicie, venie contemptor, segnis in hostes
Inque suos sevus, civilia prelia captans.
Quo regnante venit rex Affricus, innumerasque

Godmundus naves adducens, intrat Hybernas
Ut superat fines. Cui Saxones, impia turba,
Se sociant, veniuntque simul cum fortibus armis
In Britones, bellumque movent, regnumque lacescunt
Ignibus et ferro; nec eis obstare Britanni
Sufficiunt. Quem civilia bella moventes
Hostibus indulgent, hostes regemque suumque
Infestant, timidosque fugant, perimuntque fugatos.
Alma cohors cleri, sanctorum corpora gestans,
Ecclesias, reditusque suos, patriamque reliquit.
Occupat extera gens partem misere regionis,
Et partem retinent Britones sibi. Rege Britanno
Terra diu caruit, et Saxones instituerunt
Tres simul aut plures reges sibi; sed diuturna
Pace frui nequeunt, nam se quandoque cruentis
Infestant armis, et eos quandoque Britanni.
Huc Augustinum, meritis et nomine clarum,
Gregorius presul Romanus mittit, ut Anglos
Convertat doceatque fidem preceptaque Christi.
Ecclesias igitur Britonum legatus et urbes
Visitat, et sanctum semen disseminat illis.
Septem presulibus atque archipresule gaudet
Pars Britonum et multis abbatibus, et monachorum
Cetibus innumeris, cleroque, Deoque dicatis
Virginibus, quos sanctus adit legatus; et illis
Accitis inquit : " Britones, nos dirigit ad vos
Roma, caput rerum, cui vos debetis honorem,
Ut, vestra pariter ope freti, verba salutis
Catholicamque fidem perversos edoceamus
Saxonicos, gratosque Deo reddamus eosdem.

Inde est quod vobis mandamus precipientes,
Summo pontifici subjecti more priorum,
Exhibeatis opem nobis ad restituendum
Anglos ecclesie. Si sollicitudinis hujus
Participes sitis, eritis simul et meritorum."

Urbs antiqua fuit cui nomen *Bangor* : in illa
Claustrales monachi degunt abbate sub uno
Nomine *Dyonotes,* qui quanto Cintia soli
Cedit, et excedit eadem fulgore Bootem,
Tanto precedit vicinos celibe vita,
Artibus ingenuis, laudandis moribus, ore
Facundo, sancta doctrina, religione.
Ille ferens commissa sibi responsa suorum,
Exponit sancto legato, sicque subinfert :
" Sancte vir, admiror te nobis obvia juri
Precepisse duo statui non congrua nostro.
Quis, nisi mentis inops, inimicis predicet, aut quis
Libertate fruens domino se subdere querat?
Ortus et Occasus invisos esse Britannis
Saxones agnorunt, ut quos feritate maligna
Subplantare volunt, hostilis sermo placere
Non solet, immo suos pervertit et obstruit hostes.
Preterea Britonum gens libera ferre recusat
Obsequium cuiquam legato, more priorum.
Presulibus subjecta suis a tempore longo
Esse sui juris consuevit nostra propago."
Dixit, et Anglorum reges audita molestant,
Et minis offendunt cleri responsa Britanni.
Unde ineunt Britones, et eorum funditus urbes
Vi delere student, nulla pietate reducti.

Cingitur innumero Legecestria Saxone. Clausi,
Missilibus saxisque suos defendere muros
Graviter intendunt. Prosternere fortiter Angli
Ad terram properant muri munimina. Tandem
Urbs capitur; pereunt cives, discrimine nullo,
Insontes sontesque simul; sacratus apertis
Arva rigat jugulis cleri cruor; hostia celi
Tota patent valvis adapertis hostica; Christo
Hostia grata placet, non sacrificantis amore,
Sed quia membra sibi capiti conforma gaudet
Conseruisse Deus. O quam admirabile bellum
Est ubi qui patitur reputatur victor, et ille
Qui vincit victus! Cedit victoria ceso,
Cedit cesori confusio, cesus ad astra,
Cesor ad infernum post cursum tendit agonis.
 Dum sibi congaudent capta Six Saxones urbe,
Ecce duces Britonum collatis fortiter armis
Invadunt Anglos. Adversa fronte resistit
Hostilis rabies. Post multum vero cruoris
Undique diffusi, campum pagana relinquunt
Agmina, Christicole pociuntur honore triumphi.
Inde sibi Britones Caduanum, corpore magnum,
Viribus indomitum, sapientem, mente ferocem,
Preficiunt regem. Novus ergo rex fugientes
Anglos insequitur, Britonum comitantibus ipsum
Civibus innumeris. Quos cum prope novit adesse,
Rex Elfredus velociter excitat omnes
Anglorum reges; ope quorum tutus, in hostes
Tendit, dispositis turmis utriusque cohortis.
Consilio procerum ducuntur ad oscula pacis

Reges, inter eos firmato federe tali
Insula dividitur : Caduano cedit ab Humbro
In Zephirum; cedit Anglo pars cetera regi.
Nec mora, mirus amor reges connectit, ut ipsos
Non tantum socios, sed fratres esse putares.
Interea, propria deserta conjuge, ducit
Rex Eldelfredus aliam. Deserta recurrens
Occius ad regem Caduanum, supplicat illi
Ut sibi pacificet regem; quod cum nequit, illam
Tractat honorifice propria cum conjuge, donec
Utraque parturiat. Utero gerit utraque prolem,
Parturiunt parvos. Deserte nascitur infans,
Edwinus ei nomen datur, et Caduano
Nascitur ex propria Caduallo conjuge; nati
Nutritique simul, missi simul ad Salomonem,
Armorice regem, simul edocti rudimenta,
Illic milicie mira probitate coruscant;
Defunctis patribus patrum diademata sumunt.
Nodus amicicie qui patres vinxerat, idem
Vincit eos, et par concordia parque voluntas;
Sed quam brevis esse solet concordia regni
Ejusdem dominis, fidei Caduallo resolvit
Funiculum veteris, et amoris federa rumpit.
Et paris impaciens regni tocius habere
Dum parat, amittit regni tocius habenas;
Nam Caduallonem dum postulat ore doloso
Rex Edwinus ut eum permittat in ejus
Regno, more suo, patrie diis sacrificare,
Imposito capiti regis diademate, dumque
Consulit ipse suos quid ad id respondeat, ipse

In gremio cari declinat forte Briani
Rex Caduallo caput, cujus barbamque comamque
Irrigat effuso lacrimarum fonte Brianus.
Rex ratus est pluvie gutas cecidisse, suamque
Irrorasse comam, cum tollens lumina cernit
Ex oculis cari lacrimas fluitasse nepotis.
Querenti causas fletus respondit : " Oportet
Ut sine fine fleam dum sic gens extera nostras
Enervet vires, et deroget invida vestro
Paulatim regno, cujus pars major eidem
In sortem cessit, nec ea contenta laborat
Usurpasse sibi quicquid retinere videris.
An nescis quare petit Anglicus in regione
Sacrificare tua, cum sit sua lacior? Hoc fit
Ut postquam nactus fuerit tua predia, nostrum
Regnum vi capiat, et nostros nosque releget. "
Hac Caduallo, sui correptus voce nepotis,
Quod rex Anglorum poscit negat. Ille tumenti
Corde furens, regi scribit mandatque Britanno :
" Rex Caduallo, scias quod ego, nolisve velisve,
Trans Humbrum regale feram diadema, diisque
Sacrificabo meis. " Cui sic Caduallo : " Coronam
Et caput abscidam pariter tibi, si sine nutu
In mea jura meo te sors deducet iniqua. "
Commoti reges, collectis viribus, in se
Mutua bella gerunt. Caduallo transmeat Humbrum
Cum ducibus Britonum, quibus obviat Anglicus hostis.
Post cedes hinc inde datas, Caduallo relinquit
Cum paucis campum, fugiensque per avia Scotos
Preterit. Inde petit regem miserandus Hybernum;

At victor Britones adit impiger, et regionem
Illorum penitus ferro supponit et igni.
Collecta vero Caduallo classe reverti
Nititur in patriam, augurio pelliti doctus Hyberni.

# GESTORUM REGUM BRITANNIÆ

## LIBER DECIMUS.

*Incipit decimus liber.*

Rex fugit in decimo; classis perit; unica regis
Navis aquas vencit. Infirmus carne nepotis
Vescitur; excipitur regis Salomonis in aula.
Inde Brianus abit. Cadit augur. Bella moventur.
Occidit Eduinus. Convertunt Saxones in se
Arma. Bonis cedit Caduallo; filius ejus
Regnat, et excludit Anglos. Civilia bella
Exercent Britones; perimuntur peste, relinquunt
Regnum. Saxonici redeunt. Rex sanctificatur.
Ivo redit, bellumque movet, nec prevalet hosti.

Spes regni reditusque sui rerumque relinquit
Regem; desperans ad opem tendit Salomonis,
Armorice regis, et, lintea dans Aquiloni,
In Zephirum rapitur. Consurgens turbidus Auster
Commovet Occeanum; tumet equor, et horrida classem
Flamina dispergunt. Dispersam ventus et unde
In diversa trahunt. Nescit quas nauta sequatur,
Aut quas vitet aquas, nec, si sciat, imperat undis;
Nam caligo duplex noctis subiteque procelle,

Excecans oculos, vires usumque videndi
Eripit attonitis, nisi cum collusio nubis
Ethereos aperit aditus et fulminat ignes.
Unda maris nimbique cadunt, duplicique carinas
Impugnant redduntque graves aspergine; pondus
Naves equat undis, equatas obruit unda.
Regia sola ratis superest, superatque marinos
Fluctus et flatus ventorum. Nocte fugata,
Grata fatigatis apparent signa diei;
Vis Austri cedit Euro, cadit humida nubes.
Terra patet precincta mari. Rex applicat illuc,
Qui post amissos socios noctisque laborem,
Languidus et tristis, capitis mentisque dolorem
Vix tolerare potest. Expers sompnique cibique,
Noctibus egrotat tribus hic totidemque diebus.
Quarto deinde die nimis esurit, atque ferinas
Carnes ardenter optat, caroque Briano
Indicat hoc. Arcu sumpto pharetraque Brianus
Per totam insululam discurrit; nulla ferarum
Deprendens illic vestigia, tangitur ira,
Concutiturque metu, ne res optata dolorem
Augmentet regis, cum non invenerit illam.
O miranda viri dilectio! digna relatu
Audituque fides! res non audita priorum
Temporibus! partem femoris mucrone recisam
Torret in igne sui; tostam ratus esse ferinam,
Vescitur, et recipit rex vires carne recepta.
Inde datis Euro velis, portuque relicto,
Tendit ad Armoricani Salomonis lumina regis.
Rex adit, et narrat illi sua fata, petitque

Auxilium. Salomon placide respondet et inquit :
" Auxilium prestabo tibi, diademaque reddam,
Juraque restituam; sed toto pectore motus,
Admiror doleoque simul quod nobile regnum
Quod nostri tenuere patres, gens extera nostris
Occupat ejectis. A prima nacio presens
Degenerat Britonum. Veteres genuisse modernos,
Si sapiunt post fata, pudet. De stirpe leonum
Egressi lepores; nam de stirpe gygantum
Gens tua Saxonibus cessit, regnumque relinquit
Quod Brutus multo terra pelagoque labore
Quesitum, quondam nostris dimisit habendum.
O probitas laudanda patrum, culpanda moderni
Segnicies populi! Bruto nostrisque subacta
Grecia subcubuit; Maurique, ferique pirate,
Pictavique truces, Majorque Britannia cessit;
Brennius et fratres Gallos urbemque Quirini
Subjecere sibi; Constantinusque, beate
Progenies Helene, necnon et Maximianus,
Imposuere jugum Laciis, et tocius orbis
Imperium forti dextra tenuere Britanni.
Cornubiensis aper, cujus vulgata per orbem
Fama viget celebris, reges quos Ortus habebat
Et quos Occasus, omnes superavit, et ipsum
Perdidit Augustum. Veteres didicere Britanni
Vincere nec vinci; norunt dare terga Britanni."

His dictis, " Sic, inquit ei Caduallo, rependo :
Multimodas grates tibi, rex. Memor hujus amoris
Quem pretendis ero, dum spiritus etheriarum
Carpserit iste vias; sed ne mirere modernos

Dissimiles patribus, queis cum Maximianus
Venit in has partes : regionis nobiliores
Adduxit secum, nec eis permissa facultas
Ulla revertendi est. Plebs rustica sola remansit,
Propria res cujus timor est et mixta timori
Inrevocanda fuga. Non ego miror aggrestes
Quos natura premit, quamvis fortuna levarit,
Hos in equos equites proprium retinere timorem.
Est aliud quare mea gens pugnare recusat,
Sicut tractavit, tractatum cujus habemus,
Hystoricus Gyldas nostri sanctissimus evi :
Serva phalanx ditata, gulam veneremque frequentans,
Illam precipue per quam Dominus excitat iram
In sobolem, cujus est diffidencia mater,
Dissuevit bellis, nisi que Citherea requirit.
Jura, fides, pietas, patrum reverencia, fratrum
Gracia, conjugii concordia, federa pacis,
Virtutesque alie, populumque fugere ferocem;
In quorum subiere locum violencia, furtum,
Fraus, dolus, ira, mine, civilia bella, venena,
Census, luxurie, luxus, homicidia, scisma.
Quos probitas probat esse probos, reprobat reproborum
Improbitas, justosque ligans absolvit iniquum.
Quo magis offendunt viciorum labe notati,
Hoc magis ascendunt ad honorum summa vocati.
Membra caputque trahunt vicium commune sacerdos
Ut populus, dominus ut servus, rex proceresque :
Inde ruit vindicta Dei, niveosque dracones
Suscitat in rubeos, qui predia, castra, penates,
Flumina, stagna, lacus, afflata tabe veneni

Cuncta cruentarunt infeceruntque, fugatis
De stagno rubeis, sicut predixerat ore
Fatidico vates Merlinus; sicque Britannum
Perdidimus regnum, successeruntque feroces
Saxones, expulsis patria de sede Britannis.
Est igitur nostrum dampnum commune pudorque,
Sicut communis est nostri sanguinis auctor;
Nam Malgo, cujus de sanguine ducimus ortum,
Quartus ab Arturo succedit ei, genuitque
Ennion et Rivum. Genuit pater Ennius Helym,
Qui Jachonem, qui Caduanum; me Caduanus.
At simul expulsus partes pervenit ad istas
Rinus, virgo duci sata Rino nupsit Hoelo,
De qua suscepit mire probatis Alanum.
Ille tuum patrem sic nos a stipite primo,
Quinta parentele series distinguit utrinque."
Interea dum sevit hyemps, Caduallo quietem
Cum Salomone capit; sed nocte dieque Brianus
Auguris in mortem pelliti totus hanelat.
Transmeat ergo fretum, vilique inductus amictu,
Tendit ad Eduini regis penetrale, manentis
Eboraci, pauperque habitu se miscet egenis
Qui regis fragmenta petunt. Soror ergo Briani
Egrediens, pelium ferens, limphamque ministrans,
Agnoscit fratrem, lacrimisque rigantibus ora
Pellitum demonstrat ei, fugiensque recedit.
Accedens igitur in turba, stantis Hyberni
Pectus ferrati burdonis traicit ictu.
Ille cadit moriens, nescitur vulneris auctor.
Inde Brianus abit, et adit velociter urbem

Exoniam, Britonesque suos, quos sparserat hostis,
Congregat huc, et narrat eis que gesserat et que
Contigerant regi. Muris et turribus altis
Exoniam munit; proceres sua menia firmant,
Expectantque simul letanti pectore regem.
Quod simul attonitas Anglorum perculit aures,
Insula tota fremit; veniens cum rege Peanda,
Obsidet Exoniam fera gens, fortemque Brianum.
Dum mangonelli diversaque machina belli
Impugnant muros, dum clausi cuncta coronant
Edita murorum, dum telis texitur aer,
En Caduallo venit, et secum ducit in hostes
Mille viros decies, quos rex commiserat illi
Armorice Salomon. Convertunt Saxones arma
In Caduallonem. Post prelia multa Peanda
Rex capitur, mortique datus est exercitus ejus.
Fedus init pacis captus cum rege Britanno,
Et se, dum juvat, persistere jurat in ejus
Obsequium, Britonumque piam defendere causam.
  Rex igitur, collectis viribus, Humbrum
Transmeat, et gladio regnum devastat et igni.
Saxones ergo suos ducens regesque propinquos,
Impiger Eduinus cum milite multiplicato
In Britones fertur. In primo marte peremptus,
Rex cadit Eduinus; cadit Olfridus, inclitus ejus
Filius; Orchadie rex occidit; Anglica turba
Tota perit, nisi quos nox et fuga subtrahit hosti.
Inde triumphator omnes de partibus illis
Saxones evellens, nulla pietate reductus,
In cives urbesque furit, bachatur in agros,

Sevit in agrestes; nullum suus ordo tuetur.
Infantes matresque sue, juvenesque senesque
Cede pari pereunt; nulli sua proficit etas.
Osualdus, regum sanctissimus, arma Peande
Dum fugeret, sociis secum fugientibus inquit :
" O devota Deo Christique domestica turba!
Submissis manibus et supplice voce precemur
Auctorem nostre fidei regemque polorum,
Ut nos de manibus Britonum sevique Peande
Liberet. " Effusis lacrimis genibusque reflexis,
Turba precatur idem. Deus audit justa petentes;
Nam Phebo retegente diem, capit arma Peanda
Et capit Osualdus. In primo marte Britanni
Devicti fugiunt. Quod rex Caduallo relatu
Addiscens, movet arma ferox, ferturque superbus
In sanctum regem. Sanctus rex ense superbus,
Sanguine sacrat humum; melior pars transvolat astra.
Osuinus, regis Osualdi frater, eundem
In regno sequitur, et init cum rege Britanno
Fedus amicicie, regi pro federe pacis
Inmodicas largitus opes, quas ante parentes
Ejus servarant. Sese quoque subdidit illi
Aufridus. Osualdi fratrisque sui Josualdus
Filius Osuinum regno privare laborant;
Sed quia non possunt obsistere viribus ejus,
Promittunt regi donaria plura Peande,
Ut succurat eis. Metuens infringere pacem
Osuini dominique sui, non annuit illis,
Donec quid super hoc domino responderit illi,
Audierit. Super hoc consultus, turpe nephasque

Caduallo reputat contra sua pacta venire.
Interea veniente die qua celitus ignis
Pectora firmavit titubancia discipulorum,
Invitat Caduallo suos reges ducesque
Et proceres, sollempne volens, diademate sumpto,
Regali ritu, festum celebrare. Vocati
Conveniunt. Osuinus abest. Cur solus abesset,
Corrupto fallax interrogat ore Peanda.
" Rex, ait, egrotat. " — " Aliter se res habet, inquit.
Non infirmatur; sed habens in corde venenum
Antique fraudis, veterum monumenta parentum
Servat adhuc in corde suo; consortis in uno
Inpaciens regno, solum molitur habere
Se monarchiam contra pactumque fidemque.
Nuper Germanis mandavit ut occius arma
Portantes veniant. Tegitur jam classibus equor.
Jam venit effera gens que te deponere querit;
Sed si permittis, in eum prior arma movebo,
Preveniamque scelus scelerosi, fraudeque fraudem
Collidam : fidei non observare statuta
Non observanti non est, me judice, culpa. "
Sed temerare fidem que venerat in stipulatum
Rex ratus esse nephas, regnique amittere jura
Esse dolo gravius, quo tendat nescit. Honestas
Cogit eum servare fidem; sed publica regni
Advetat utilitas : dubius manet inter utrumque.
Consulit ergo suos quid agat rex Demeciorum.
Dum dubitant alii, sic dicens consulit illi :
" Anglorum reges expellere proposuisti
De regione tua contra vota tua scienter.

Haut inpune venis. Germanica natio semper
Fallere credentes didicit sub pacis amictu.
Fallere fallentes non est fallacia; non est
Fallax, fallaces simili qui fraude repellit.
Si dubitas, si turpe putas contraria pactis
Te patrare tuis, saltem permitte Peandam
In cives sevire suos et bella movere
Intestina; tuam patriam populumque reserva.
Anglorum tibi debilitas munimina confert,
Leticiam meror, et vires debilitatem."
Tota cohors collaudat idem. Rex ergo suorum
Inductus monitis, quamvis invitus, in Anglos
Anglis concedit civilia bella movere.
Anglia tota fremit: sevus capit arma Peanda,
Sevit in Osuinum, nullo revocatus amore,
Non prece nec precio, non vi, tonitruve minarum.
Osuinus vero cum sevo prelia rege
Agrediens, triginta duces, regemque Peandam,
Innumerosque viros perimit, potiturque triumpho.
 Induit Ulfridus patris diadema Peande,
Ulciscique sui molitur fata parentis.
Discordes Caduallo ligat sub federe pacis;
At septem lustris transactis et tribus annis
Ex quo suscepit regni moderamina, cedens
Rex Caduallo bonis nature debita solvit,
Moreque regali conditus aromate, mira
Conditur in statua fabricata ex ere recenti,
Stature regis equa, magnoque caballo
Insidet ejusdem fabrice similisque metalli.
Stans armatus eques in equo, superadditur urbis

Londonie porte, rapidumque spectat ad Austrum.
Quadrupedi pedibus subdunt in honore beati
Martini factam ecclesiam, certoque colendam
Assignant cleri numero cum dote statuta,
Qui pro rege suo cunctisque fidelibus oret
Illic, et celebret sacre sollempnia misse.
Conveniunt igitur de regni partibus omnes
Sacri pontifices, reges, aliique potentes,
Ad Cadualadrum; tanto succedere patri
Condignam sobolem decorant diademate regni.
Rex novus ergo, Deo devotus, mitibus agnus
Adversisque leo, quociens irascitur ira,
Non donatur ei; sed eam sic temperat, ut non
Judicium mentis pervertat vel racionem,
Et memor ipse sui generis, quia moribus auget.
Saxones excludit, novat opida, roborat urbes,
Tutatur regnum, justos amat, odit iniquos,
Justiciam servat, hostes enervat, amicos
Ditat, defendit viduam, sustentat egenos,
Supplicibus parcit; illis sua rura resarcit,
Quos quibus effera gens temere spoliaverat olim.
Pax, illo regnante, viget ter quatuor annis;
Sed quia nulla diu stat firma potencia rerum,
Quas secum Fortuna trahit, que semper in orbe
Volvitur, et nunquam stat certo robore fulta,
Publicus ecce dolor et publica causa malorum :
Rex infirmatus diuturna febre tenetur.
Inde fit ut Britones, civilia bella moventes,
In cives urbesque ruunt, in rura suosque
Ruricolas. Nulli prodest munimen asili;

Nulla est ecclesie reverencia, nulla parentum,
Nullus amor fratrum; cleri jacet ordo sub ense;
Sed Dominus, qui cuncta videt, nichil esse salubre
Sincerumque nichil in toto corpore regni
Prospiciens, delere cupit cum plebe potentes.
Ergo lues gravior cladi superadditur : aret
In terra semen, vel germinis herba segesque
Non venit ad culmum; fallunt sua vota colonos;
Defectus cereris panisque carencia diram
Esuriem pariunt. Nec eis animalia multum
Ad vitam prosunt; herbas, volucresque ferasque
Radicesque suis commendant ventribus, omni
Materia victus consumpta; nec tamen inde
Ingluvie ventris sedata, mortis ymago,
Torpor iners, pallor, macies, et meror ubique.
Nusquam deest moriens, non plangit filia matrem,
Non sua mater eam, non claudit lumina patris
Filius, aut matris leto moriturus eodem.
Non defuncta queunt sepelire cadavera vivi,
Quos manet instantis urgens vicinia casus.
Mortuus et moriens, languens et vivus in uno
Conveniunt lecto; nec vivo mortuus ullum
Incutit horrorem, mora mortis morte molesta
Est magis afflictis. Sub sole relicta liquescunt
Corpora, que totum corrumpunt aera vivis.
Altera causa necis, quos mors permittit abire,
De regno miseri fugiunt aliena sequentes.
Rex fugiens petit Armoricam, regnumque relinquens
Disserit has querula miserandus voce loquelas :
" O regio dives! o nobilis insula Bruto

Responsis ostensa Dei, regnata Britannis
Regibus assidue, non desolata suorum
Consilio procerum, propriis nudata colonis,
Civibus orba tuis, que nusquam subcubuisti
Hostibus in bello! de te sine cede triumphat
Sola fames. Jam vultur edax, corvusque, lupusque,
Dilaniant generosa ducum sub sole relicta
Corpora, mixta vage nullo discrimine plebi.
Ruricolis tua rura suis, et civibus urbes
Et castella carent; nullus citharedus in aula,
Nullus in ecclesia cantor, non organa dulces
Perstringunt modulos; funestas nocte querelas
Devia promit avis; sterilis tua terra cruore
Fertilis est hominum; sine semine falce secanda,
Gramina luxuriant. Cunctis mea regibus olim,
Nunc est facta feris habitacio, vile luporum
Hospicium catulis, et fedum vulpibus antrum.
Hoc merito patimur, quum peccavimus; in nos
Fulminat ira Dei, quem nos offendimus; in nos
Ulcio digna venit; nostros purgare reatus
Debuimus, dum tempus erat. Paciencia Christi,
Longa nimis, justam vindictam distulit, ut nos
Excessus nostros delictaque corriperemus;
Sed quia voluimus pravos compescere gressus,
Et magis atque magis crevit vesania nostra,
Ipse Deus cernens in toto corpore regni
Omne caput languens, cor merens, putida membra :
" Non opus in medico sic infirmantibus, inquit.
Filius et genitor, genitrix et filia, clerus
Et dux et miles mortem meruere subire :

Occius intereant. Lata est sentencia, latam
Angelus exequitur, cujus mucrone perempti
Morte pari Britones pereunt, insonsque reusque.
Saxones et Deiri, Picti Scotique, redite
In regnum tutore carens : jus vendicat inire,
Qui prior invadit rem quam non possidet alter."
Interea cum classe sua rex tristis et exul
Intrat in Armoricam, quem dux illustris Alanus
Suscipit, et refovet consolaturque dolentem.
Cetera pars Britonum quam mors permisit abire,
In diversa fugit quo sors sua dirigit illos.
At simul est sedata lues, optataque venit
Fertilitas, et Saxonicis est cognita rerum
Gestarum series, regnum sine rege, suisque
Depressum populis, repetunt, habitantque coluntque.
Que Cadualadri postquam res attigit aures,
Congregat Armoricos juvenes, et, classe parata,
Strenuus ire parat in Saxones, et religionem
Illustrare suam, regnumque resumere regni;
Cum nox de celo descendens nocte sopitum
Excitat atque vetat regem quo cogitet ire,
Dicens : "Parce tuis votis. Optare quem optas
Utilitas tua reprohibet; sapiencius opta.
Temporis ista tui non est victoria illa;
Ista reservantur, Merlino teste, futuris.
Ecce dies veniet, venturis grata Britannis :
Exilii finis, annus jubileus, origo
Leticie, regni reparacio, summa bonorum;
Saxonibus terror, regnandi meta, dolendi
Principium, tempus fugiendi, causa malorum.

Postquam stirps Britonum, posita feritate,
Diluerit, Dominoque placens placaverit illum,
Et causa cessante, Dei cessaverit ira,
Tu vero quia sunt tua crimina vota, vetaris
In regno regnare tuo; regnabis in alto
Celorum solio post hec discrimina vite.
Peccasti : te peniteat, peccare quiesce
Et pete Romanam sedem; tua facta fatere
Summo pontifici, qui te purgabit ab omni
Crimine quod fueris confessus, erisque
Sanctus cum sanctis et rex in divite regno."
  Omnia rex audita duci declarat Alano.
Ille prophecias Aquile, docteque Sibille,
Merlinique legi faciens, nil invenit istis
Oppositum monitis. Sic ergo consulit illi,
Dicens : "Angelice voci parere paratus
Esto, jussus adi Romam; regnumque Britannum
Filius Yvo tuus adiens cum milite forti,
Saxones impugnet, ne sic sine vindice nostrum
Possideat regnum contra jus gens inimica."
Consilium ducis Armorice rex approbat, exul
Discedit, sedem Petri petit; excipit illum
Sergius, absolvit, confirmat. Nec mora, morbus
Regis membra gravat, nature debita solvens
In duo dividitur : descendit corpus inane
In matris gremium, de carcere corporis exit
Liber, et ascendit ad Patrem spiritus ejus.
Secula sex et lustra octo, dempto tamen uno,
Post incarnatum Verbum venisse feruntur
Cum Cadualadrus celi successit ad arcem.

At sancti patris Yvo dignissimus heres,
Quem pectus, quem forma decens, quem dextera fortis,
Quem mores, quem larga manus, quem gratia Christi,
Quem constans animus prefert et dapsilis aula,
Dispersos revocat Britones, regnumque Britannum
Classe petit, cum quo Ymius impiger, illi
Haut impar meritis, ejus carnalis amicus.
Discurrunt igitur, rapidorum more leonum,
Per regnum; gladiisque viam facientibus, Anglos
Dispergunt traduntque neci, nil tale timentes.
Anglica turba pavet, Britones fugit, invia querit.
At simul attonitis animus redit, arma capescunt.
Hostibus obsistit omni pars utraque nisu.
Mutua bella gerunt, datur undique mutua cedes.
Inde patres matresque pie, quos longa senectus
Quosque gravat series bellorum, talia dicunt :
" Et quid erit tempus in quo cessaverit ista
Tempestas bellique lues, et micior hora
Venerit, et dulcis concordia paxque benigna?
O Bruti regio, miserande condicionis
Insula, plena doli, Veneris domus, hospita Martis,
Sanguinis urna, capax viciorum sportula, testis
Fortune stabilis, mendaces esse poetas
Convincis, qui stare deam, quam volvit in orbe
Orbita, posse negant! Fortunam stare tenaci
Proposito, te teste, probas, nusquamque moveri;
Nam qualis tecum cepit persistere, talis
Perstat adhuc. Regni cepisti nomen habere
Vi gladii; tua cepta tenes, tua cepta tenebis,
Dum poterunt Britones et Saxones arma tenere.

Progenies Priami, fera gens, quam blanda molestat
Pax, quam bella juvant, que semper vivis in armis,
Cui semper discors concordia, cismaque concors,
Ecce venit vindicta Dei, dignaque reatus
Punit clade tuos, regnique polluis expers
Hujus eris, tua destituens, aliena sequaris."

At genus Anglorum, stirps impia, nacio fallax,
Gens in marte fugax, in agendis fraudibus audax,
Turba bibax, soboles mendax, populusque bilinguis,
Excedit numero Britones. Probitate Britanni
Excedunt Anglos; sed quare Saxones Angli
Dicuntur, mihi, Musa, refer, ne nescius errem.
Respondet sic Musa mihi : "Dat patria nomen
Illud, id eventus nomeu facit angulus Anglum;
Anglicus angelicus tamen exponi solet : hujus
Nominis expositor et dictus apostolus Angli
Gregorius populi respexit ad exteriorem
Candorem vultus, cum quondam dixerit Anglos
Angelicos; tamen angelico perversa nitore
Mens caret, Anglus est Sathane hujus nomiuis auctor.
Forte vel interior determinat angulus Anglos,
In quo cauda riget, vel id ex vi gloria nomen
Composita exponit, sine qua gens illa futura est."

Interea dum bella ferox gerit hostis uterque,
Dumque novem lustris patitur pars utraque passim
Dampna sue partis, ingressi denique carnis
Unius cujusque viam, fortissimus Yvo
Et collega suus, Britonum tutore carentem
Destituunt populum. Populum sine rege relictum
Anglica persequitur rabies, murumque minorem

Excludit major, et contra federa juris
Acephali Britones spoliantur jure paterno.

Jam mea pene ratis fluctu maris obruta, portum
Optatum tangit, et quam nec seva Caribdis
Nec catuli Scille, nec terruit equoris unda,
Terrent terrarum fantasmata, terret edacis
Livoris morsus, tormento sevior omni.
Quis locus invidie, quid agit detractio mordax?
Hic ubi culpat opus, propriumque fecerat auctor,
Invide cur cernis obliquo lumine labro?
Indignante legis mea carmina, cur ea dente
Scabro corrodis? Non sunt, me judice, digna
Laude, nec in medio recitanda diserti.
Nil ego provectis, nil doctis scribo magistris,
Sed rudibus rude carmen ego, non verba polita
Non tragicis satis apta modis, non digna cathedra,
Non medio psallenda foro; cano gutture rauco.
Non plausus populi, non famam, non sapientum
Judicium quero; satis est mihi si puerorum
Gratus in ore legar. Procul hinc, procul esse periti
Saxones hinc abeant, lateant mea scripta Quirites;
Nec pateant Gallis, quos nostra Britannia victrix
Sepe molestavit. Solis hec scribo Britannis,
Ut memores veteris patrie jurisque paterni,
Exiliique patrum, propriique pudoris, anhelent
Vocibus et votis ut regnum restituatur
Antiquo juri, que possidet Anglicus hostis;
Neve male fidei possessor predia nostra
Prescribat, sumatque bonas a tempore causas.

At parvi quibus istud opus commendo, rogate
Pro vestri vatis anima, famaque perhenni
Antistes vestro vivat Cadiocus in ore.

**Explicit decimus liber *Gestorum Regum Britannie,* per manum Guillelmi dicti de Redonis, monachi.**

# VARIOUS READINGS.

# VARIOUS READINGS.

COD. VALENT.

7. terre.
9. spargit.
15. nascio.
18. casum.
19. Teumaque.
20. Actorisque.
22. sibi *pro* si ibi.
24. parricida. *In textu nostro lege* casu.
27. Phrygiorum.
29. Pirrus.
37. sanguine.
39. agrediens. — Orsa.
46. reddat.
52. condictionis.
54. armarumque.
67. flant.
70. Pelagos.
74. Asaracus.
81. resignans.
84. tyranno.
85. malvis.
99. Danai.
106. inquit.
119. tum.
124. Eucho.
127. emissis.
141. tacite.
143. catena.
161. D. cum. — temptoria, *passim*.
164. optatum.
165. perenni.
166. nefasque.
173. Nusquam.
178. Unus hic.
180. Hinc. — evasit, o. amnis.

COD. LOND.

7. terre.
15. nascio.
*Deest titulus.*
27. Eleni.
31. ipsam.
33. A . j. longuoque labore fretoque.
37. sanguine. — Orsa.
60. Assaratus, *passim*.
61. invictissima.
63. aufferre.
64. Natus legitime.
69. Frendit.
70. Pelagos.
85. mavis.
98. inhermem.
110. inhermes.
119. tum.
124. Equo.
126. Incucitus.
127. obmissis.
138. falanges.
141. adhuc.
151. *Deest* in.
174. s. f. in c.
177. videri.
180. Nunc. — armis.

COD. VALENT.

202. ex his.
226. sirtes.
227. Predulci. — Syrenes.
229. vite.
237. collabitur.
245. Loegecia.
250. Inveniunt. — vetera.
258. neveis. Tympora.
269. grassariis.
270. circumspicis.
290. Dicies.
292. exiit inde.
293 Ad visitandam.
301. Sirenes.
302. Turrenum.
307. equiparari.
309. Acsi puero.
310. vivit.
314. Littoribus. — hortisque.
331. genus omne.
346. Herinis.
354. Utque leo.
364. gigantes.
366. Sudardus.
367. trecentum.
372. turba.
376. vidit.
395. altaria.
399. Ut ibi.
400. turmis.

COD. LOND.

194. designet.
197. Tam nobilis.
210. Ennogenta.
215. Enogenta.
229. E. imme.
231. facio vobis.
232. marito.
233. vitave.
245. Lœgencia.
250. Inveniunt. — Dyanae.
257. syndone.
260. J. cerve et Dyane d. D.
261. Significat b. esta J. cerve et D.
267. Dyana.
268. penetrans. — Refulgens.
270. conspicit.
275. Queque.
283. *Deest versus*.
287. s. servat.
293. visitadam Zareamque.
295. Q. tum.
306. conveniunt.
307. equipparari.
323. legatus.
328. Numquit.
330. concipiens.
332. facta tuo nulla est.
333. Hibertus.
335. duplicans.
337. Hiberti, *passim*.
345. juncta.
346. Troes Herenis.
354. visu.
357. Quem.
365. caternos.
370. Agreditur. — caputque.
390. Depopulantur.
395. assalia.
399. Ut n. G. posuitque r. regum.
402. Jubiter.
409. e. ejus.

COD. VALENT.

416. perimatur.
420. cognamine.
437. tanto.
456. Quarta.
457. Litore.
461. cernere. — Albion.
464. gigantes.
465. *Hunc versum, qui deest in codice* 8491, *ex cod. Valent. deprompsimus.*
469. feram gramine.
470. tum est.
485. Goemagum.
487. ille.
489. certam.
491. certat.
493. Certat.
498. C. sibi frangi.
499. Unam in levo.
502. projicit.
505. Lyndonias.
508. Gaulica.
511. Donvallo.
537. Loegreria.
539. Wallia.
542. Uber, *passim*.
546. Kamber.
547. quod fugit.
552. pulcras.
553. Estildis, *passim*. — pulcrior.
557. ivisset.
561. Hiis iratus.
565. spernent.
566. cubicula.
568. dispendia.
582. Hanbren, *passim*.
584. Madden, *passim*.
587. Estildin.
588. Guendoloenam.
392. regimen regina regens.
593. Estrildim.
596. Sabina.
598. *Deest versus.*
600. resignat.
602. Omerus.
603. Malynque, *et inferius* Malys.
613. vitat.
615. Offensaque.
616. Ceptrum.
618. Dilaniatque. — nefande.
619. Prodit.
620. ceptra, *passim*.

COD. LOND.

425. *Deest.*
428. mittat.
434. habuit.
435. Nec.
451. G. semper.
*V. cl. Fredericus Madden, eques auratus, hic adjecit:* " the remainder of the 1st book and beginning of the 2d is here wanting. "
597. *Hic iterum cod. Lond*
599. Macden, *passim*.
601. *Deest.*
610. debere.
613. nephande.
615. xxti, *passim*.
616. dum tum venatur.
620. *Deest* Saul.
622. Est.

COD. VALENT.

623. igne.
625. vingenta.
627. Silvis.
628. abire.
636. V. Bruti.
638. Leirus.
643. Kaerlil.
650. Leiri Ruchudus dyadema.
656. Sephitoiam.
659. Lenice.
662. Ballea.
669. Leir.
670. Kaerleir.
671. Lerechestia. *Deest* eadem.
672. Gornorilla.
673. N. est C. junioris.
678. extat.
688. amore.
699. retenta.
701. ex parte sorore.
708. conjux.
719. ministrent.
720. id p. firmant.
721. procreat.
723. Gorgonorilla.
741. *Hunc versum et sequentes, in ms.* 8491 *desideratos, ex cod. Valent. deprompsimus.*

COD. LOND.

629. refferente.
634. adit.
636. Scute cognamine.
638. Leyrus.
643. Kaerleyl adit.
644. Q. regit.
648. T. Hester.
650. P. m. Choy$^{a}$li.
656. *Deest* Quod. — M$^{o}$r.
659. Leu. Yoel.
663. Cujus.
670. Caerleyr, ē.
671. In nostris linguis.
672. Gornozilla.
673. Ragau, *passim.*
687. carissime.
699. retempta.
702. F. tendit.
703. Regis Aganippi.
705. quam rationis.
716. procerum tandem.
723. Gornorilla.
736. Honninum.
737. Ragau. Rege.
742. *Deest versus.*
746. Queret.
747. cerebro.
750. Deicis.
752. Leyr. — circomdabat.
754. Tesiphoneo.
755. Exheredat.
765. O. q. sua rata.
766. Quam.
774. p. tanta.
777. ranusia.
778. Cordillat num.
782. regni in.
783. P. pro meritis, ut q. me nosse.
786. G. Francorum rex adit, illic.
797. Leyr.
801. dimittens.
807. succedit ei.

COD. VALENT.

814. *Hic desinit hiatus in cod. Parisiensi, et incipit fol. 13.*
819. bienne.
823. Tynedagius.
826. Tunedagius, *passim.*
828. Ysayas.
829. eumdem.
835. Jago; Kenmarcus.
837. Porex, *passim.*
840. Ferrucem.
844. Ferux.
846. in magnum facinus. — anxia factum.
852. sine scismate.
853. Donvallo, *passim.*
855. Clotenis.
856. toto Loegeria.
858. Rudaudus.
869. sic perimunt.
878. fugiat. — Sit.
882. *Deest* siccam.
883. Lustribus.
887. dyadema, *passim.*
893. An.
897. Marianorum te repellente.
899. conjux, *passim.*
900. Norgeveci r. Elfini.
903. Elfini.
908. chohortem.
910. R. Dactus Guilchardus.
917. Dactus.
918. Norchahumbrense.
923. captaque.
928. bacchabor.
934. Calastrium.
943. *Deest* gladios.
945. secuta.
950. Brennius. — sine fine.
953. repetit.
968. miro.
959. Cornubicum Cathenensi.
972. cancellant.
976. oris.
985. promtus.

COD. LOND.

814. obprobria.
816. ponunt.
832. gutas.
834. Gurguiturus.
835. Tyago; Kinim.
840. F'entem.
843. Porex.
846. anxia facta.
847. Poricem.
870. fuge.
881. et aratur.
882. consumit.
884. Reinius et Belinus.
897. Raulphus.
910. Rex Dactus Guielatus, *passim.*
916. diverseque littora.
917. Rex.
920. ergo rei.
930. Optulerit.
944. lapsu.
960. A Dactis.
966. ditatas.
969. Conichitum.
972. cancellat.
974. perornat.
975. unique.
980. Allobroges.
983. At si.

COD. LOND.

1748. viridentis.
1751. ingeniis.
1756. dyadema, *passim*.
1758. annis.
1765. generosas.
1766. pessimus.
1772. primis.
1774. cespitis.
1781. sceptrum cape.
1784. penates.
1786. mondi.
1788. Joelinum.
1803. Succumbit.
1808. O. u.
1812. sit.
1817. regis unica.
1820. Joelino.
1726. adducere.
1831. *Deest versus*.
1834. Q'.
1836. Aspiciens.
1862. R. legati.
1863. didiscerunt.
1871. nulli molimur.
1874. Inductus.
1876. Karadoci.
1881. Opida.
1890. V. in.
1903. T.t. regnum quod te regnante regetur.
1909. U. et v. sum vi sive.
1923. Resigna.
1933. injuste.
1940. homicidia votis.
1941. Perpetrare.
1944. nusquam Ramisia.
1945. Mobiliore. sp'c. *Lege* spiritus.
1946. O r. o tibi r. nunc p. aū.
1947. A. c. etas, nec regnum.
1948. c. n. que.
1950. *Deest versus*.
P. 71. *Deest rubrica*.
1956. Armoricam fratres adeunt duo; regem
Dux adit E., *melius*.
1962. Innumeris, *melius proculdubis. Hic interponitur alinea*.
1963. jungit.
1964. *Adde semicolon post* Romanis.
1968. *Nullum ibi alinea*.
1973. Dyodoco.
1973. nimphis.
1977. Littus. *Sic et v*. 2047.
1982. Vannius. Malgaueti.
1985. Tota B. M.
1996. *Post hunc versum legere est:*

Quam facta Romani laniarat turba senatus.

1998. Subjectus p. a.
2000. Vanius. *Alinea hic interponitur*.
2001. vacat.
2004. mittat.
2015. In sola sua vota fuga. Timor et tremor illos,
2019. Hastilia.
2029. Guicellinus, *passim*.
2031. Androenum.
2032. Conanus,
2033. ut regni.
2035. Androenus.
2037. marte.
2050. Britonum marte fugata.
2056. nutriverat.
2062. Votigernus. *Sic passim*.
2066. parare.
2086. remisse pigebit.
2087. depenere.
2091. Detractat in regnum.

COD. LOND.

2095. anelat.
2102. R. igitur ait.
2109. Et commessales.
2113. mutat.
2115. pallit.
2130. pro dolor!
2131. et ille.
2133. occumbat.
2150. S. h. onus, *melius.*
2154. carinas.
2155. C. t. recipit. Orsus.
2161. relegatur,
Sorte relegati remis sulcavimus equor,
Vel tibi, *etc.*
2177. Si v. consortes contigerit.
2185. M. n. tribuunt.
2189. exannia.
2191. Pollicitatur.
2192. tueatur.
2197. dicit ei.
2199. Aurelium.
2200. Ybernos.
2201. Et Daccos.
2202. queremus.
2208. *Lege* sic.
2210. quem, *male.*
2212. Nostra f. f. c. vestre.
2213. Dixit, ac Engistus.
2217. Cindit.
2222. v., illas G.
2223. Ronven.
2232. Impletum.
2233. *Laurenchine warsail.* " R. ergo.
2236. *Drincayl.*
2242. patris pater et s.
2247. Disparit.
2254. E. igitur d.
2256. j. quos tres.
2258. Gatigernus.
2260. alma coruscant.
2263. Pelagus.
2264. Engistus.
2266. q. te tua vexat.
2267. veniat.
2288. non sulgus vocatus.
2289. *Deest* Rex.
2297. dispergit.
2298. castra.
2306. Privigni.
2313. micati, *sed male.*
2321. suscitet, *recte.*
2331. cathervas.
2334. *Deest* quia.
2341. mayorum.
2344. non nimie.
2345. communi.
2350. cognamine.
2352. honusto.
2353. Que tamen — misit.
2357. plaudit.
2359. u. ac.
2362. Cum vero nullum.
2366. Ethyr.
2378. sollicitant.
2382. inquiri.
2384. nomine.
2386. Aspiciunt.
2391. s. natus.
2392. q. sis nescitur.
2396. miranda relata.
2397. astitit.
2398. monacali.
2413. invicta.
2421. Magnancius. *Sic passim.*
P. 89. *Deest rubrica.*
2432. Ybernia.

COD. LOND.

2434. Uter. *Sic passim.*
2441. distractorum.
2446. Qui.
2449. disserta ferendos.
2453. conferre.
2454. noscit.
2457. Effoditur.
2458. *Deest versus.*
2460. *Forsan coma post* perfidie *ponenda foret.*
2464. magna draconum, *rectius.*
2470. anelitus.
2486. flumineus.
2487. ritu.
2493. e. enarrantibus ejus.
2494. tibi.
2503. *Post hunc versum legitur :*

Ipse tamen mea fata michi, finemque revela.

2509. Subduntque.
2513. f. hinc.
2519. Mulctabit m. celestes.
2522. petunt.
2523. publicat.
2525. Illum pontifices decorant.
2527. perentum.
2534. flamarum.
2539. fratrem, *ambo codd. Mss.*
2546. Ex aquilonari p. Daccos, Venedotos.
2548. varia.
2552. R. ipse.
2558. belli.
2561. occius.
2566. *Deest versus.*
2570, 2571. *Desunt hi duo versus.*
2575. recursum.
2579. Preparat. *Lege* excitat, *correcta typographi menda, et* o styrps generosa *ut in cod. Lond.*
2584. non voce.
2585. pars ista triumphi.
2587. Concurrunt.
2588. hinnitus.
2604. vinctis.
2606. Cogunt. inherti.
2607. Pulcrius e. putant m. subire pugnando.
2628. l. amor.
2638. certat. certum.
2643. triumphum.
2646. T. in.
2650. victum.
2655. V., membra.
2656. Lassa.
2664. Agap.
2666 et 2667. *Desunt hi versus.*
2670. occius.
2676. subicimur, *rectius.*
2682. Miserens miseretur.
2686. *Deest hic versus.*
2688. T. naves.
2690. enarvat.
2696. relinquit.
2697. Erandicando vicia, plantando b.
2703. immo.
2709. H. esto, *male.*
2718. O. q. e. et erit.
2723. Presentis affatus.
2724. nosse.
2731. Ybernia.
2733. Ex castris.
2735. Adhuc, *male.* Sic s. j.
2738. Eam, *male.*
2739. aufferri.
2742. languore.

COD. LOND.

2743. lavabant, *rectius*.
2747. Utri.
2768. inmorum, *male*.
2770. anullatoque.
2773. dixit.
2774. *Lege :* ducuntque ad littora, ducta.
2778. Penthecosten.
2780. Regi.
2791. stabat in m. Talaro.
2799. Guillomini.
2803. falanges.
2805. Utrem.
2808. corruptus capa.
2809. phisius.
2811. pisidas.
2817. conditur.
2818. in monte.
2835. succedere.
2839. *Deest* radius. — Unica.
2841. Que tibi n.
2846. Guillominus.
2850. *Deest versus*.
2854. eum quem.
2855. Uter Pendrangon v. m'.
2861. molestat.
2865. certant.
2866. obcumbunt.
2880. invadite.
2894. ditat.
2907. C. r. in.
2910. Opida, Tyndagallum.
2911. H. Ingerna.
2917. Ulsinus.
2919. ipse.
2920. Jordanis Tintagalensis.
2921. A. regis famuli Britelli.
2922. Tintagalum.
2923. potitus.
2924. creditus.
2926. homo, tantus sit in illo Tempore conceptus ; nam, *etc*.
2949. se facit.
2950. in cesare regem.
2956. Vix.
2957. fatigat.
P. 109. *Deest rubrica*.
2963. Coldrinus.
2965. dispergit.
2966. S. convertit.
2969. d. s. dona.
2970. sollenizat.
2976. Omerus.
2977. Tulius.
2978. A. t. nutu.
2982. Anchisse.
2987. cognor.
2997. victis invicta.
2998. *Post hunc versum legitur :*

Affectum, non est acceptior hostia Cressi.

3000. associatus.
3004. acquirit.
3009. bachatur.
3010. Ac.
3012. nefanda.
3014. Umbro.
3019. sic, *rectius sane*.
3021. dux o. illi.
3022. Donalasius amnis.
3026. acquirere.
3027. marte c. amne.
3030. i. et.
3031. utrinque.
3032. Radulphus, Coldrini.
3038. Radulphus.
3039. inherme.
3043. Badulphus.

COD. LOND.

3031. D. dum.
3076. solvat.
3077. A. maricolis.
3082. nactos, j. littora.
3091. Suppositum.
3094. Obsidibus cesis obsessam tendit ad urbem.
3098. o. variam.
3109. inhers inhertem.
3111. themate.
3115. deffendite.
3120. Prima. Altera, primam, *rectius.*
3122. prima.
3126. C. vere judex.
3128. nefas.
3131. vitaque.
3132. *Deest* est.
3148. *Transpone semicolon post* conum.
3166. s. quoque, d. illas.
3174. redditus.
3176. langore.
3190. Limoni s. quod.
3192. Exicium.
3195. C. Guillominus.
3198. Ac in Ybernenses.
3201. tectis.
3203. furenti.
3206. probum.
3207. Mittem. placidum. dissertum.
3208. Reprobat. gemitus.
3218. ruppes.
3221. Aut procul hic.
3222. cadro.
3227. Genus istud.
3232. stantem rapit.
3237. Ut.
3247. v. prelatus providet.
3248. Pyramon.
3250. solemne.
3258. Angulesi.
3262. Galganum.
3263. Inde Guenhomalam, Laciam.
3268. Ylandrense.
3272. Britanno.
3273. Suppositis.
3274. egreditur.
3282. sibi servat.
3288. Armatis validisque viris in littora.
3291. Quisdem triumphum.
3294. Daccos.
3298. Folloni. Follo, *passim.*
3303 et 3304. *Hi duo versus transpositi fuerunt.*
3307. prodesse.
3312. suscipiens.
3319. quis major eorum.
3320. qui sit.
3321. Aut.
3323. manos.
3325. velocior.
3336. cognamine, *ut antea.*
3337. crebatum casside.
3339. Uterides.
3341. Acquirit.
3342. tibertit.
3350. Vascones.
3355. egreditur.
3357. L. s. dapifer cedit N. t.
3358. In s. Loquereti.
3359. A. Kayo.
3360. s. j. domosque.
5363. plausibus.
3370. I. c. procerum c. ducumque.
3386. hympnos.
3390. Q. p. prece bis.

COD. LOND.

3395. *Post hunc, versus* 3393 *repetitur.*
3398. f. pars sic.
3401. Cayus et.
3402. *Transpone comam post* turba.
3409. rex largo.
P. 123. *Deest rubrica.*
3424. retrograda, r. prevenit illum.
3425. C. celebrare tribus solenne diebus.
3426. Collibuit.
3438. nobis.
3459. inhertes.
3460. non g. arma.
3471. acquirit. *Sic passim.* imo.
3478. At non Bellinus.
3480. sanctissima.
3482. suscedo.
3501. Angulesus : " Rex, talia, maxime.
3506. sociamque.
3507. F. nefasque.
3513. At non.
3525. Agrediamur. agredianlur.
3528. Angulesus.
3543. patrias repetunt.
3550. *Deest versus.*
3556. Theuter. Boccus.
3557. P. Euvander, S., r. Ytureorum.
3558. Xerses.
3570. E. thalamis.
3575. juvenisque receptat habenas.
3576. M. es, m. es.
3582. Angulesus, Cayus.
3586. Horrisonus. roboat.
3593. linthea ventis.
3594. ut sibi visum. *Deest* est.
3595. Yspana.
3597. dracho. *Sic passim.*
3598. sua sompnia.
3600. designat.
3603. T. tegit.
3606. Surripuisse Elenam.
3607. Aut p. m[i] sui.
3609. Egressus.
3610. Cayo.
3614. piscerna.
3620. singultus v. sequentem.
3632. jam f. cruenta.
3639. I. gigas Elenam peremitem.
3652. Conspicient.
3653. Hic.
3665. Trinodam.
3672. Accrior.
3681. *Lege :* " Inter.
3682. t. ense.
3683. attrox.
3687. consutam.
3688. ipse.
3689. Aravio.
3691. et sociis.
3704. Guerinus.
3706. A., cujus qui.
3714. Contenti.
3715. P. locuturum.
3723. R. in Ytalicos.
3724. trahicit.
3729. Eminet. Juncius.
3733. Te t. probo.
3734. suos.
3737. prope.
3744. Petreius.
3748. ingressi sunt.
3750. hostiliter.
3751, 3752. *Desunt hi duo versus.*
3759. quanto.
3760. Gravioris. premantur.

COD. LOND.

3761. Bossoni. convocat ad se.
3763. dixerat.
3781. Acefali. captum.
3784. Profferunt, *forsan*.
3790. Syrie Lybieque.
3801. pugnanti Cornubieñ.
3802. Bordellus.
3803. Turba.
3804. Cum.
3805. Acquitanus.
3810. admittunt.
3812. *Rade punctum in fine versus.*
3814. Euvander Syricus; obcumbunt aut.
3813. Vilcheius (?).
3823. Legrias. *Sic passim.*
3826. dixerat.
3829. serviet.
3831. Petiisse, *rectius*.
3834. quemque.
3838. In turbam.
3839. ut summo.
3840. Alphinos.
3841. capiamus inhermes.
3855. f. cum.
3857. peracto.
3858. Et non incepto.
3859. illis.
3864. succumberet.
3865. timuere.
3875. vestrum.
3892. hostis.
3895. probat.
3905. fisi.
3906. Corda.
3914. *Deest versus.*
P. 148. *Deest rubrica.*
3923. Caraccius.
3929. caput.
3930. strages.
3932. Eucho. *Sic passim.*
3936. Obtulit.
3954. C. s. c. consul.
3955. Experiosque s. in eos.
3957. *Cetera desunt usque ad v.* 4023, *uno folio avulso post quinquagesimum quintum.*
4032. fata.
4034. fundit.
4042. in Ymmo.
4050. ritu, *rectius*.
4051. proferri.
4052. pro v. p.
4054. p. multo.
4055. Et cum n. d. c. v. tendit ad urbem.
4055. Allogorlum t. et eam. *Pone punctum post* subjugat.
4056. cedit.
4057. acies n. subtrahit.
4064. U. s. contra rectumque fidemque.
4065. j. Modredumque fidelem.
4072. Umbro.
4073. Orsus.
4078. V. et q. habet a. h.
4080. populusque.
4084. Evenus.
4085. In regno.
4088. C., funestas.
4093. secundo. *Pone comam post* viris.
4100. Amisit.
4104. harenosus.
4111. temptat.
4123. Ne te peniteat hujus.
4125. suorum.
4128. Fecerit.

COD. LOND.

4135. Consimili.
4142. Ylandria.
4143. succumbit Daccia.
4147. Ad gelidos A., populum cui.
4148. corida.
4149. Yspania.
4152. Approbat.
4155. abhorret.
4163. ut observent illum.
4170. hec.
4172. bellaque.
4184. hinnitus.
4185. Eucho.
4186. irrumperunt.
4198. reliquit.
4206. Non c. ceso domino.
4209. V. r. tamen.
4214. nec predo.
4215. nec vis.
4216. pubes.
4217. V. manet.
4220. juvenes.
4222. N. hic proprium.
4227. At.
4235. *Post hunc versum legitur iste:*

Patri consimiles, et Saxones arma nefanda.

4242. rexit regnum.
4254. R. Dacco fatis, Malgo.
4259. O. turpis.
4264. Carectius.
4269. Gormundus.
4270. Et.
4272. In Britonesque movent bellum.
4275. suosque.
4278. relinquunt.
4306. N. Dindero.
4307. Boetem.
4319. Supplantare.
4320. Non soli.
4324. consuerat.
4334. Insomptes.
4337. honore.

*Post versum 4341 cetera desunt.*

# APPENDIX.

# APPENDIX.

## DE PRIMIS INHABITATORIBUS ANGLIÆ.

(Cottonian Ms., Cleopatra, D. ix, folio 67.)

*Incipit Tractatus de terra Anglie, a quibus inhabitabatur in principio ante adventum Bruti, que terra primo vocabatur Albion, et postea a Bruto Britannia, deinde Anglia nuncupata est.*

Ci put hom saver coment
E quant e de quele gent
Les grauntz geanz primes vindrent
Qi Engleterre primes tindrent,
Qe primes fu nomé *Albion*,
E qi primes mist le noun.
Ore escotez peniblement,
E l'em vus dirra brevement
Des geanz tote la soume,
Cum jeo l'oy de un sage home
Qi bien saveit les escriptures
Des auncienes aventures.
Après le comensement
Del mound mil e nef cent
E sessante e diz anz,
En Grece esteit un roy pussant,
Qi tant fu pruz e noble e fier
Qe sur touz reys aveit poer.
Réyne aveit bele e gente
En qi engendra filez trente,
Forment beles, qe tant crurent
E norries ensemble furent.
Pere e mere furent granz,
Ausi devindrent les enfanz.

Lur nouns ne vous say cunter,
Unkes ne les oy nomer,
Fors cele qui estoit eynez,
Qi mult fu bele e haut levez;
Mult estoit bele meschine,
Cele fu nomez *Albine.*
E qant totes furent de age,
A grant roys de haut parage
Totes les fillez donerent
E as haut roys marierent.
Chescune out roy e fu réyne;
Mès par orgoil de lur méyme,
E par fierté e grant rage,
Purpenserent grant outrage,
Par unt grant damage avoient :
Mès rien adonkes ne quidoient
Qe rien lur pout à mal turner
Ceo q'il avoient en penser.
Mès tost après se assemblerent
E coÿment se conselerent,
E si unt entre eux ordiné
Qe nule ne soit si assoté
De suffrir en nule guise
De estre en autri danger mise
Ne de seignur, ne de veisin,
Ne de frere, ne de cosin;
Ne nomement de sun barun.
" Mès touz jurs en subjection
Cili tegnez en danger,
Si averez tut vostre voler. "
Fillez erent au roy de pris
Qi à nuli ne fu souzmis,
Ne le voleient-eles estre;
Nule ne voleit aver mestre,
Ne estre souz nuli destresce,
Mès tutdis estre mestresce
De sun seignur e quantq'il out :
A chescune cel conseil plout.

Si lur seignurs à lur voler
Ne se voleient obeier
De fere tote lur volunté
De quantq'il unt en pensé,
Entre eux issint asseurerent
E par lur feiz affermerent
Qe chescune tut en un jour
Osciroit mesmes sun seignur
Privement entre ces braz,
Quant meux quide aver solaz.
Un certein jour assignerent
A faire cum purparlerent.
Totes unt ceo en voluntez,
Fors qe soulement le puisnez;
Cele ne voleit mesprendre rien
Vers sun seignur, q'ele eime bien.
Qant tut lur conseil unt finé,
En lur pays sunt returnez.
Ceste chose purparlée,
Rien ne plout à la puisné,
Qe sun seignur a tant eymé
Cum ele fet sun cors demeine.
Ele ne voleit à nul feur
Damage veer de sun seignur;
Mès qant furent à parlement,
N'es osa contredire nient :
Kar si ele ust rien contredist,
Murdré la ussent sanz respit.
Dieu li amoit, qe lors se tint.
Si tost cum pout al hostel vint;
Qant vist sun mari, sun doel crust;
E qant sun seignur le aperceust
Q'ele fesoit mourne semblant,
Si la demanda meintenant
Purquei ele esteit dolent.
E la dame, qe mult ert gent,
As piez sun seignur descendi,
En plorant li cria merci;

De sun trespaz merci cria,
E de la trayson li counta
Coment ses soers à mult grant tort
Li fesoient jurer sa mort,
Là où de ceo n'avoit talent.
E sun seignur hastivement
La prist mult tost entre ces braz,
La beise e fist greignour solaz
Qe fait li avoit unqes mès.
" Dame, fait-il, tenez en pès
E lessez passer la dolour. "
Lendemain à point de jour
Se apparila pur tost aler
A sun pere ou li parler,
E à sa femme dist ensi
Q'ele seit preste de aler ou li.
Ne demorra pas grant pece,
Vers sun pere, roy de Grece,
Ambdeux lur voie tindrent;
Tant errerent q'il vindrent.
Mult sunt à roy très-bienvenuz,
E tut si cum fust avenuz
De ses fillez li unt conteé.
E li roy fust tut espounté
De ceo qe sa fille li dist.
Brefs e lettres escrivere fist;
Ses fillez manda erraument
Qe à li viegnent hastivement.
E qant furent touz assemblé,
Li roy les ad aresoneé
De la mort et de la trayson
Qe chescune de sun barun
Par grant malice avoit purveu,
Dunt deshonur lur est acreu.
Les dames sunt touz espontez
De ceo q'eles sunt acoupez,
De la trayson dunt sunt rettez,
Dunt jà ne serrunt aquitez;

Mès chescune à sun poer
Se veut defendre par jurer;
Mès rien ne vaut le contredire,
Kar li roy out si grant ire
Qe touz les veut mettre à mort
Pur lur malice e pur lur tort.
Lur pere, qi out ire grant,
Tant les ala aresonant
E tant les ad examiné
Qe rien ne pout estre celé
De ceo qe purvéu avoient
Qant à lur conseil estoient.
Par lur pere, qe fu coynte,
Fust chescune là ateinte
De cele malice desraée,
Fors soulement la puisnée
Qe tut counta à sun seignur,
Qi puis la tint à grant honur.
  Qant chescune fu ateinte,
De la doulerouse pleinte,
Touz furent à dolour pris;
Par lur pere e lur mariz
En forte prison furent botez
Pur lur mauveise iniquitez;
Grant penance là suffrirent
E juyse attendirent.
Ci là qe par commun assent
Fust ordiné lur jugement;
Mès les juges, qi furent sage,
Pur l'onur de lur parage,
C'est-à-saver, de lur pere,
Ausi de lur bone mere
Que si noble gent estoient
Qe partut l'empire avoient;
E pur l'onur de lur barons
Qi tindrent riche regions,
Unt aguardé qe à dreit ne à tort
Ne deivent suffrir vile mort.

Mès par commun assentement,
Fu ordiné par jugement
Qe totes seient exilez
Hors du païs où furent nez,
A touz jurs, sanz repeirer.
Cest jugement estuet suffrir,
Ou seit envys, ou seit à gré :
Hom dist qe force pest le pré.
A grant dolour e sanz resort
Menez furent à un port
Ben près d'illoek, à la mer;
Où ceo fu ne vus sai counter,
Mès qe totez furent prises
E puis en une nef mises
Qe estoit forte e grande,
Sanz governail e sanz viande.
Illoqes grant doel unt demené,
Mès nul n'avoit de eux pité,
Pur lur grant iniquité
Q'entre eux fut purparlé.
En la mer la nef boterent;
Les undes la nef chacerent
En grant peril sà e là,
De la tere les esloigna.
En grant dolour sunt ores mis,
Qant exilez sunt de lur païs,
Dunt furent riche reignes;
Ore sunt-il povre begynes,
Ne scevunt quele part devendrunt,
Si morz ou vives eschaperunt.
  Cestes dames unt grant peine.
Aventure la nief meine,
Les grant venz par mer la chacent,
E les undes la manacent;
Mès rien tant de mal ne lur fet
Cum la famine qe lur crest,
Car rien n'avoient à manger;
Mès pur le peril de la mer

Pitousement waymenterent
E la famine ublierent.
De tote part sunt turmenté,
Morir voleient de bon gré;
Chescune grant dolur attent,
Car en la mer leva un vent
Qe la fist crestre e lever,
E les granz undes reverser;
E tressailler fist la nief amount,
E puis flotir al plus parfount;
E tant la turna en virun
Qe les dames en paumesun
Fesoit chaier e giser,
Par .iij. jours et .iij. nuytz enters;
Qe de rien ne se moverent,
Mès tut diz en trauns giserent.
Endementers les enporte
La tempeste qe fu forte,
E les chace par grant travail
Qe près sunt venus à un rivail.
Qant fu cessé la tempeste,
Cum nus trovoms en la geste,
Le tens devint cler e swef,
E tant par west chace la nef
Qe à la tere est hurté
Qe *Engletere* est ore nomé;
Mès en ceo tens sanz noun estoit
Pur ceo qe nul home n'i manoit.
Qant la mer retrete fust,
La nef à secke tere géust;
Les dames tost esveillerent,
E lur testes sus leverent.
Grant joie trestotes eurent
Qe si près de tere furent;
Tantost de la nef issirent,
Où très-malveis sojour firent.
Mès cele soer qe fu eyné,
Avant totes se est hasté;

Tut premereine en saillant
La terre prist tut en estant.
Cele qe fu nomée *Albine*,
De la terre prist seysine;
E les autres hors saillerent
De la nef, qe febles erent
Pur la dolour e le juner
Q'il avoient en la mer.
Chescune à terre se assist;
Lur grant famine les reprist
Qe tut fust ublié devant
Pur la tempeste qe fu grant.
Feym avoient à demesure,
D'autre rien n'avoient cure
Mès q'il ussunt à manger,
Mès n'el savoient où trover.
Mès par grant necesseté
Les herbes crues unt mangé,
Dunt grant plenté i troverent,
E des fruiz qe ès arbres erent.
Glens, chasteins e allies
Sustinerent bien lur vies,
E des espines les purneles,
Botouns de haie e meeles,
Peires, poumes q'eles troverent;
Autre viaunde ne mangerent,
Totes sunt en grant pensé;
Ne scevent où sunt arrivé,
Ne coment ad noun la terre,
Ou seit de pès ou seit de guerre.
Là lur covent sojour fere,
N'estuet aillours autre quere.
Qant revigurez estoient
De la dolur q'il avoient,
Amont alerent en la terre
Pur espier e enquerre
Quele gent i habitoient
E quele vie demenoient.

En la terre tant alerent
Qe parmi tut la cercherent;
Rien ne troverent humeine
En boscage ne en pleine,
Ne en valey, ne sur mont,
Qe haut e bas illoques sunt.
Home ne femme ne troverent,
Dunt grantment s'esmerveillerent;
Ne nul rien unt apercéu
Qe unqes gent i fust venu;
Mès bele forest e boscage,
E meinte beste sauvage
I troverent à grant fuysun,
E grant plenté de oyscloun
Sur terre, e en rivers
Qe de pesson sunt pleners,
E de en coste praieries
Delitablement flories;
E les oiseux qe sunt sauvages
Chaunterent haut en les bocages,
Qe les ad mis en grant confort.
Mès qant veient qe par nul sort
Ne purrount jà aver poer
De lur païs recoverer,
Mès bien scevent e certeinz sunt
Qe la terre qe trové unt
Unqes ne fu enhabitée
Par nul home de mere née.
Ceo unt-il trové tut apert
Qe tut dis ad esté desert.
Adonk dist la soer eynnée,
Qe estoit Albine nomée :
" Trestotez sumes exilez
De la terre où fumes neez.
Totes savez la desserte
Par unt nous avint la perte,
Qe mès n'en ert restorré.
Tiele est nostre destinée;

Mès Fortune nus ad grantée
Ceste terre, où avowé
Estre dei e cheveteine,
Car jeo fu la premereine
Q'en la terre prist seysine,
Al issir de la marine.
Si nule veut contredire
Rien qe touche la matire,
Meintenant mostre à mei
Purquey estre ne le dei. "
Communement li unt grantée
Q'ele seit lur avowée.
Dunqes dist la dame Albine :
" La terre avomes encline
Dunt ne savoms le noun dire
Ne si unqes avoit sire;
Pur ceo de moi qe su feffée,
Deit la terre estre nomée.
*Albine* est mon propre noun :
Dunt serra nomé *Albion*,
Par unt de nous en ceo païs
Remenbrance serra tutdis.
Ci nous covent tutdis maner,
N'avoms cure aillours aler :
La terre est pleine de touz biens,
Mès qe viande n'i faut riens. "
Mult unt desir d'avoir viande,
Tel cum lur quer demaunde.
Bestes veient à grant plenté
E oyseloun, dunt sunt tempté;
Volenters les mangereient,
Si entre meins les avereient.
Totes furent en grant pensé
Coment pussent à volunté
Aver beste ou oyseloun,
Dunt il avoit grant fuysoun.
Assez savoient de chacer,
Qant avoient lige poer,

E de boys et de rivere
Bien savoient la manere;
Mès lors n'avoient nule rien,
Ark ne sete, faucon ne chien
Dunt preissent oysel ne beste
Qe manger pussent à feste.
Coyntes e engynouses erent,
Estreitement se purpenserent
Dunt par grant avisement
Engyns fesoient plus de cent.
Des verges firent hardelouns,
Dunt il pristerent veneisouns;
Tripetthes firent de fuseux,
Dunt pristerent les oyseux.
Divers engyns sovent firent
E si coyntement tendirent,
Dunt les bestes decevoient
E oyselouns assez pernoient.
Qant urent pris à volunté,
La veneisoun unt escorché,
De cayllous unt feu alumé.
Bushe avoient à plenté,
En quirs les bestes quisserent,
E par les breses rostirent
La veneison e les oyseux
Qe pris avoient, bons e beaux,
Dunt mult leement se peurent,
E ewe de fontayne beurent.
Tiele vie tant sustindrent
Qe lur forces tut revindrent
E bien furent reviguré
Du mal qe avoient enduré.
Qant char e sanc repreneient,
Grosses e grasses deveneient;
La chaline de nature
Les somount à desmesure
Par desir de lecherie
D'avoir humeine cumpanie;

De ceo sunt mult sovent tempté.
Ceo aperceurent li malfeé
Qe sunt appelez *Incubi* :
Ceo sunt espiritz, iço vous di,
Qe tiel poer lors avoient,
Humeine forme pernoient;
Queques ceo la nature,
Ou femmes firent mixture
Qant en delit les trovoient,
En cel point les pergiseient;
Sovent enfanz engendrerent,
E tost après s'en vanerent.
A les dames avint ensi,
Qant lur delit les assailly.
Mult prest estoient li malfeé
De parempler lur volunté
En la forme avant dite.
Ne fu grande ne petite
Qe ne fu prise de un malfeé;
E là furent engendré
Enfaunz qi geaunz devindrent
E après la terre tindrent.
Tut lur delit acumplirent;
Mès les dames rien ne virent
Ceux qui par gieu les avoient,
Mès qe soulement sentoient
Come femme deit home fere
Quant s'entremet de tiel afere.
E quant furent de mur age,
Les enfanz, par grant outrage,
En lur meres engendrerent
Filz e filles qe grantz erent.
Les soers de freres conceurent
Filz e filles qe mult crurent.
Grantz gentz de cors devenoient,
E grant force en eux avoient;
Grantz erent à desmesure
E de cors e de stature.

Ceo puet home mult ben saver
Par les grantz os qe hom puet trover,
En mult de leus de la terre
Qe vodra cercher e enquerre;
Oppelaunde e en cité
Puet hom trover à grant plenté
Dentz, jambes e costez
E quisses de quatre peez.
Espaudles ad hom bien véu
Ausi large cum un escu,
Dunt mult de gent sunt en eswer
Si puet estre faus ou veir
Si unqes furent tieles gentz
Qi portassent tiel ossementz.
A regarder hidous erent,
Car malfez les engendrerent.
Des deables furent engendrez;
E les meres dunt furent nez
Furent grandes e mult corsues.
De forte gent furent venues :
Par reson si deivent estre
Les enfanz qi deivent nestre
De tiele gent cum cil erent
Qe les geaunz engendrerent.
  Cele gent de faierie
Mult grantment se multiplie;
Par la terre se partirent
E caves en terre firent;
Grant murs entour funt lever
E des fossés environner;
Sur montaines herbergerent
Où meux estre en séur quiderent.
En mult des leus unkore i pierent
Les grant murs qe cil leverent;
Mès mult sunt ore abesseé
Par tempeste e par orreé.
Cele gent la terre tindrent
Ci là qe les Bretons vindrent :

Ceo fu avant qe Dieu fu né,
Cum par acounte ai troveé,
Mil cent aunz e trente-sis,
De ceo seiez certein tutdis.
Del tens qe les dames vindrent
Qe primes la terre tindrent,
Jeqes au tens qe Brutus vint
E la terre à force tint
E le noun *Albion* osta
E pus *Bretayne* la noma,
Si cum la cronike counte,
Deux centz e sessaunte amounte.
Tant de tens, ceo fet à crere,
Les geaunz tindrent la terre;
Mès qant cele gent desraée
En terre fust multipliée,
Chescun divers pays prist,
Où sa manauntie fist.
E là vesquy chescun pur sei
En tiel orgoil e tiel desrai,
Qe chescun à sun poer
Voleit autre sourmounter;
Car chescun tant se affioit
En la force q'il avoit,
Qe nul de eux autre ne dota;
Mès chescun autre despisa
E chescun vencre bien quida,
E tost à ceo s'aparailla
Pur conquere par mestrie
La terre e la seignurie.
Tantost entre eux sourdi contek;
Chescun à autre fist eschec;
Sovent se entremedlerent
E sovent se entretuerent.
Tant sovent se cumbatoient
Qe de touz ne remanoient
Fors soulement vint e quatre,
Qe vindrent à Brut cumbatre

Qant primes la terre prist.
Mès Brut trestuz les desconfit,
Sauf un qe fust lur avoweé,
Qi *Gog-Magog* fu nomeé,
A qi la vie Brut dona,
Car mult de li s'enmerveilla
E de la grandour q'il avoit,
Car de .xx. peez de long estoit;
E de li voleit enquere
Coment vindrent en la terre,
E dunt e de quele lignage
Pristrent primes parentage.
E il trestut à Brut counta
De lur origine coment ala,
Coment en la terre vindrent
E coment après se contindrent,
E cumbien de tens fu passeé
Q'en la terre pristrent seé;
E coment furent engendré
De chief en chief li ad counté,
Si cum il einz avoit oy
De ceux qi furent avant li.
E Brut trestut fit remembrer,
Qe autres après pussent saver
La merveille de la geste,
Pur counter à haute feste
E qe hom puet aver en memoire
La merveille del estoire.

Oy avez la verité,
Come la geste nous ad counté,
Qant e coment et dunt cil vindrent
Qi Engleterre primes tindrent,
E de quel noun estoit nomé,
E de par qi li ert doné,
E cumbien la terre tindrent
Avant ceo qe Bretons vindrent

E le primer noun osterent
E *Bretaigne* la nomerent :
Tut est bon à remenbrer,
Rien ne grevera de saver
Les diz e les escriptures
Des aunciennes aventures.
De Dampne-Deu seit-il beneit
Qi en escripture les metteit.

Amen.

# BRUTUS.

# BRUTUS.

(Cott. Ms., Vespasianus, A. X, folio 44 verso.)

Consuluit mea Clio mihi dare semen harene,
Deque labore meo steriles nascuntur avene.
Clio dedit lucem, non obfuscata tenebris.
Tunc erat urbs celebris, tunc Cesar in urbe celebris.
Profuit antiquis studio coluisse sorores;
Nunc mea Musa mihi meritos avertit honores.
Maro relegatus fuerat pro Titire, proque
Nocte pluit; rediit reparatus honore domoque.
Sed nunc mendicat quevis examine Clio,
Cogitur esuriens migrare per atria Clio,
Nec vates docet esse fames comes inter acerba
Que docet et volucres humaniter edere verba.
Nemo Mecenas, nemo modo Cesar; Athene
Laudis honore carent, fugiuntque theatra Camene.
Flacco Tibur erat, Nasoni jura paterna,
Mantua Virgilio, vati modo cara taberna.
Sed artes pereunt; sed rarus amator earum,
Raro tamen scribens, patronum sentit avarum.

Set, Dunelmensis presul, metropolitanus Hugo,
Jure dicabo tibi que Palladis ubere sugo;
Nam nequeo reticere tue preconia fame.
Hoc tua nobilitas movet, imperat, exigit a me.
Tu mihi Mecenas, tu Cesaris emulus unus,
Que tibi devovit vates tuus, accipe munus.
Tempore Cesareo quid Cesare majus habere
Vel melius poterat, nil inquit concio cleri.
Tu melior, tu major eo, cum sis vice regis;
Cumque sacerdotis genuere moderatio legis,

Hec tua majestas innuit, pietatis amore
Fervida justicie, non degenerante rigore,
Regia progenies, Karoli quem posteritatis
Edidit insignis successio, flos probitatis.
Te duce tango chelim, te presule, teque patrono,
Quem colo, quem laudo, tui supplico pectore paterno [1].

---

Quis pater et quis avus, quod erat genus, unde Britanni,
Que fuga, que procerum fata fuere, canam.
Tu mihi, Clio, fave, fer opem modulare canora
Verba lira; totus spirat Apollo michi.
A Bruto Brito nomen, genus a generosa
Stirpe gerit, generis Dardanus auctor erat.
A duce Dardanii sumpserunt nomen, ab Ylo
Ylion, a Turno Troja vocata fuit;
Ortus ab his Priamus, cujus patre regna tenente,
Jason adit Colcos, nave secante viam.

Applicat ad Frigiam, rex obstat; at ille repulsus
Vertit iter, rapto vellere; predo redit.
Succensum fastus non deserit, ira repulsans
Obicit, inque vices hinc timet, inde dolet;
Nam quotiens recolit, quotiens sua turba retractat.
Facta Frigum graviter fert, graviterque ferunt.
Conveuit ergo suos, placet ultio, classe parata
Tenditur ad Frigiam, destruiturque polis.
Menia dant aditus, ruit Ylion, Herculis ense
Rex cadit; in preda filia regis abit.
Jam spoliis reparata Frigum, jam rebus onusta,
Jamque redit felix ad sua Greca manus.
Troja jacet spoliata bonis, privata decore,
Rege vacans, natus Laomedontis abest.
Mox aderat, reparatque domos et menia replet
Milite, ne quovis pressus ab hoste foret.

[1] Hugo, Dunelmensis episcopus, dictus Hugo de Pusat, et erat nepos regis Stephani. Vid. Matth. Paris. *Hist. Angl.*, ed. Lond. 1640, in-folio, p. 91, l. 50, A. D. 1154, etc.

Hic erat ille ducum fortissimus, ille disertus,
Ille prius de quo fama tacere nequit.
Ense latus, sceptroque manus, diademate vertex,
Induitur; felix conjuge, prole viret.
Fila sue Lachesis, status urbis, probra sororis
Morsque patris Priamo morte fuere magis.

Mittitur ad Danaos, petitur captiva, repulsam
Antenor patitur, nec repetita redit.
Numina causantes natos incusat ad iram;
Provocat ipsum quicquid ad arma facit.
Fit ratis, imo rates, ventoque vocata secundo
Regia classis habit. Dux Paris justus erat.
Nec mora, litus habent, portus patet, uncus harene
Figitur. Explorat dux loca, nauta vias.
Fama refert venisse deos hominumque figuras,
Nec hominum mores, non habuisse status.
Ardet in absentem Ledea, cupitque videre;
Dumque videt Paridem, conicit esse Jovem.
Igne pari Paridem paribus sudare medullis
Incitat, afectat par Paris esse pari.
Mutua signa dabant, aberat Menelaus ab ede.
Ledea rapitur, fit fuga, predo redit.
Excitat ira duces Dolopum, conjurat Atride
Mirmidonumque manus, persequiturque Friges.
Consulitur Phebus; fatis repetitus Achilles,
Ense colum mutat, vir modo, virgo prius.
Ylion impetitur, pugnatur cominus armis;
Hinc acies Danaum dimicat, inde Frigum.
Hectoris Archilocus gladio cadit, Hector Achillis;
Eacides Paridis prodicione perit.

Pirrus adest post fata patris, feritate paterna
Sevior, ex toto cetera patris habens.
Convenit Eneas Priamum, pacem movet, armis
Abdicat, obpropriis afficit ille virum.
Hic parat insidias, vocat Argos, fedus initur,
Signat iter, signat tempora, signat ubi.

Pirrus, imago patris, fremitu leo, tigris in hostem,
   Ocupat incautos; rex cadit, urbsque ruit.
O facilis Ledea rapi, facilisque reduci!
   Post scelus et sceleris probra superba redis.

Exulat Eneas et navigat exule major;
   Namque bis undenis navibus equor arat
Iter in Ytaliam. Petitur Lavinia, cujus
   Rex genitor prolis spe meliore caret.
Turnus in uxorem cupit hanc, Lavinia Turnum
   Abnegat, inque virum captat habere Phrigem.
Femina preponit votis ignota propinquis;
   Extera sic novit femina ferre vices;
Raro discernit, raro deliberat; etsi
   Subdola, raro sapit quid bene quidve male.
Marte ferox, sceptroque potens, formaque serenus,
   Parque deis, imo plus Jove Turnus erat.
Phrix erat inferior virtute, remotior Erio;
   Rege minor, remis actus et exul erat.
Hec amat, hec spernit, prepositus advena noto.
   Nauta duci, regi naufragus, exul Ero
Fit subito felix; datur uxor ei, datur ora
   Ytalie, dantur opes, et diadema datur :
Sic variat Fortuna vices, sic mesta secundat;
   Sic sua non stabilis, sic malefida rota;
Sic dat opes cui nigra prius. Quo venerat exul,
   Quo miser, adversis prospera mutat ibi.
O felix quam tanta beat tam regia conjux,
   Tam bona, tam comis, tam Jove digna viro!

In regnum post fata patris successit Yulus,
   Spes patris, et nati inultus in ore pater.
Non illum promissa Jovis, non fata deorum,
   Non patris eventus destituisse reor.
Vincit avos, quamtumque rose superatur honore
   Spina rosam pariens, tam premit ille patrem.
Huic pater Anchise pia proles, Silvius eres,
   Nec polis Alba prius Troja Creusa parens

Uritur, urentem comburit, amatque puellam
Silvius, et vivo patre potitur ea.
Suadet amor venerem, coeunt bis terque quaterque
Rex pater, inque brevi fit pater illa parens.
Dum tumet alvus ei, dum spes jubet esse parentem,
Sollicitatur ariolos quid paritura foret.
Consulit ariolos, astrorum consulit ortus,
Consulit occasus, consulit ipse magos;
Fertur ab ariolis, astrorum fertur ab ortu,
Fertur ab occasu quid paritura foret,
Quod puer impurus, que mors utriusque parentum,
Quod foret exul, inops, transfuga, sorte datur.
Verba loqui quantumque nocet, quantumque tacere
Expedit, arioli que cecinere tulit.
Partus adest, post quem subiit discrimen et evi
Mater, et in partu desinit esse parens.
Cloto vocat puerum, vocat Atropos improba matrem,
Matris et interitus prolis origo fuit.
Nascitur ergo puer par Marti, major Achille,
Dignus non redimi morte parentis erat.
Moribus Eneas, Hector pugna, Diomedes
Laude, Paris facie, nomine Brutus erat;
Nec puerum puer ille quidem, nec ephebus ephebum,
Nec vir ad arma virum fertur habere parem;
Namque puer juvenile sapit, juvenisque virile,
Virque senile sapit, jura severa senex.
Ut pueri metas, ut adultos attigit annos,
Nec cane, nec jaculo prelia novit apri;
Nec jaculum non arcus iners nec nervus agebat
Ocia, nec oculus, nec sua cassa manus;
Cassa tamen sua dextra semel; nam vulneris ictu
Detorquens telum, mors patris ipse fuit.
Ergo pudor patrie, natorum dedecus, hostis
Nature, sceleris conscius, exul abit.

Brutus adit Danaos, Priami successio fastus
Passa Neoptolemi fata gemebat ibi.
Hanc Phrigibus commune genus, communio fati,

Exilii paritas jungit et unit eos.
Expedit adversis mutare secunda vicissim,
Fervet in adversis prosperitate tepens.
Brutus in exilio bello calet, ante tepebat.
Tum Veneris fuerat, qui modo Martis eques,
Viribus exilium morum probitate redemit.
Pronus ad omne decus, probra sui generis.
Quid moror? in Bruto Mars pugnat, Apollo perorat,
Archadis ora sonant, ornat ymago Jovis.
Grecia miratur, stupet hinc Tros, inde Micenus,
Quanta sit in Bruto gratia, quantus honos.
Viribus Alcides, Paris astu, Delius arcu,
Castor equo, fratrum cestibus alter erat.
Hec quoque larga manus, mens largior, utraque larga,
Prodiga neutra quidem condecorare student.
Exhilarat sua fama Phriges, perteritat Argos;
Hos sua comburit flamma, serenat eos.
Terra hominem citraque deum sua fama laborat,
Ferre virum properans equiparare deis.
Hunc igitur statuere ducem, statuere paternum,
Seque dedere sibi gens miseranda Phrigum.
Absque manu fragili septena fuere virorum
Milia, qui Brutum constituere ducem.
His favet Assaracus, monet illos arma movere;
Indolis egregie Grecus ephebus erat.
Ex patre Grecus erat, Phrigia de matre creatus;
Nobilitate Phriges, exprimit ore patrem.
Pro patre suspectus Phrigibus, pro matre Micenis,
Vix ab utroque cavens horret utrumque genus.
Assaraco tria castra patent, ea demere fratri
Nititur. Hic heres patris, at ille nothus,
Impetit hic illum, quamvis sit utrinque Micenus.
Alter habet faciles ad sua vota suos.
Convenit ille Friges, fedus datur, oppida munit
Brutus, et armato milite replet ea.
Dux iter explorat, loca circuit; ilice stabat
Silva gravis, tuta silva latebra fuit.
Rex ibi mollis adhuc etatis, ibi mulierum

Agmen, ibique locat vulgus inerme senum.
Convocat Assaracus, nemus ocupat, ardua lustrat,
Cumque manu valida devia colla adit.

Mittitur ad regem, petitur pax, liber abire
Tros rogat, aut valeat degere liber ibi.
Pandrasus ergo furit, stupet Argos, ad arma Micenos
Provocat, inque Phriges sevit Achiva cohors.
Convocat in cetum proceres, temeraria Bruti
Facta refert, quid agat consulit, arma capit,
Deligit armatos, iter arripit, a Sparitino
Exilit opidulo cum duce turba Phrigum;
Legit in occasum Phrigie tria milia pubis.
Exiliunt variis exspaciata modis.
Brutus equum stimulat, socios vocat, increpat Argos,
Tela jacit, gladio fulminat, ore tonat,
Occupat prudens armatus inermes incautos,
Providus ignaros, promtus ad arma pigros.

Fit fuga, diffugiunt Danai, Trojana juventus
Insequitur, Bruti non vacat ense manus.
Pars Aquilonis aquis inmergitur, ense cruento
Pars cadit, incurrit Martis utrinque genus.
Obviat Antigonus fugientibus, et fugientes
Convocat in turmas, fit quoque pugna recens.
Quid moror? Idei fugiunt, ferientibus Argi
Dant sua colla, beat pugna secunda Phriges.

Dardanus exultat, cadit hostis, dux Anacletus
Ducit et Antigonum; cetera turba jacet.
Infelix Bruto cessit victoria, preda
Nobilis, hic regis frater; at ille comes
Oppida munivit terre, nemus ocupat, ardua lustrat
Funera, captivis spem dat abire suis.
Pandrasus ergo furit, pudor urit eum, dolor angit.
Hic sibi captivos, obicit ille fugam.
Grecia tota suum decus exprimit, oppida Bruti
Obsidet, inque vices impetit, impetitur.

Insultus Danaum Bruto patet, anxius arces
Complicat, ambiguas horret inire vias.
Fit gravis insultus, pubes Trojana resistit.
Qua sua permittit machina, quaque vigor
Viribus exhaustis miles tepet ustus, anela
Corda laborantum vexat acerba fames.
A duce consulitur. Nervosum luce Quiritem,
Nocte timet vigilis sollicitudo ducis.
Consulit ergo suos, Anacletus convocat, illi
Imperat imperio cedere sive mori.
Dux manifestat, opus favet, hic permittitur ergo
Liber abire; fides et comes obses erant.
Nocte dolis instructus abit, dormitur ab Argis.
Incidit in vigiles, agnitus ergo refert :
" Exiit Antigonus mecum de carcere liber;
Fratris in occasum regis adeste, viri. "
Ergo nemus subeunt vigiles, concursus utrinque
Fit gravis, ista manus cedit; at illa cadit.
His sua fata favent bona, nec meliora futura.
Tam sibi propicium dux stupet esse Jovem.
Acriter invadunt Danaos, armatus inermes,
Providus incautos. Turba sopora ruit.
Ut patet obsessis, aperitur janua portis.
Exilit, et duplicat prelia leta cohors.
Acriter invadit Brutus tentoria regis,
Acriter invadunt cetera castra Friges.
Aspirat fortuna viris, his arma ministrat,
His favet, et capto rege trophea beat.
Qui modo servus erat, jam liber; qui modo pauper,
Dives; quique modo transfuga, sorte datur.
Pullulat Ideis in florem, fructus in herbam
Messis, in auroram sepe vocata dies.
Servicii jam finis adest, jam Grecia Bruto
Paret, jamque sui meta timoris adest.
Oppida munit item, sepelitque cadavera, predam
Dividit, et regem ducit adusque nemus.

Convenit ergo suos; que sint sua vota requirit,

Queve peti moneant, queve petenda probent.
Pars monet ut partem regni petat, altera clamat
Ut perimat regem, tercia suadet iter.
Dum tremit incertus populus, Menpicius inquid :
" Absit iniqua petat, vel scelus istud agat.
Hic habitare malum, quia victis arma supersunt.
Obiciet natis gens malesana parens.
Letus in uxorem duc Innogen, et pete naves.
Sit tua gens tecum libera, liber abi. "
Rector adest, exponit ei quam dira flagella,
Quam grave sudet onus si sua vota gerat.
Audit et exaudit, Frigibus sua fata secundat;
Innogen ergo duci regia nata datur.
Colligit ergo rates; frumento, vestibus, auro,
Armis et Bachi munere replet eas.
Cum ter centenis Trojani navibus equor,
Cumque bis undenis, cumque duabus arant.
Quis status ergo tibi, que lacrima, quis tibi planctus,
Innogen, ut patriam deseris utque patrem?
Hic tibi blanditur, genitoris ymago repugnat;
Hic reprimit lacrimas, auget at illa tuas.
Dardana classis abit, geminisque diebus et una
Nocte secat valido tercia regna notho.
Litus habent. Jacet in pelago Laogecia; fertur
Insula plena feris, non abitata viris.
Urbs ibi cive carens. Pirate menia quondam
Diruerant urbis. Signa vetusta patent.
Sacra domus Trivie dat Ylii responsa petenti;
Stabat ymago dee sordida, thure carens.
Dux igitur subit antra dee cum vate Gerone,
Bis seni proceres cum duce templa petunt.
Ponitur ara triplex, triplex focus, una tonanti.
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Dum sua vacca Jovi, canis Herme, cerva Diane
Occidit, hic aditus intrat et orat ita :
" Virgo, fave, que luna poli, regina baratri,
Queque potens nemorum nomina trina geris.
Os aperi reseraque mihi; que menia, sub quo

Sidere, que vel ibi sunt habitanda loca.
Templa dicabo tibi, thus tibi sacrificabo,
Balsama virgineo jungo colenda choro. "
Hec iterans novies quater aram circuit; illi
Affuit in sompnis sic dea visa loqui :
" Solis in occasu jacet insula feta gigantum
Semine, cive carens, undique clausa mari.
Pan ibi curat oves; ibi mel, ibi vena metalli,
Quelibet innumeras terra resudat opes.
Hec tibi terra patet, sedes erit illa beatis
Civibus, et natis altera Troja tuis. "

Sic dea. Dux igitur perterritus antra recludit,
Visa refert sociis, precipit inde fugam.
Affrica transvehitur triginta diebus, et ad Aras
Filistinorum tenditur absque mora.
Montes Arareos et Russicolam regionem
Pretervectus aquis, hostibus hostis adest.
Impetit, impetitur, vix fretus ab hoste tropheo;
Vertit iter predo, preda fit aperta satis.

Temporis articulo, transacto flumine Malve,
Mauritana subit litora classe cita.
Ut quid agat, Brutus secum deliberat; illum
Cogit ad arma fames, imperiosa comes.
Quotquot ibi rerum fuerat, a finibus usque
Ad fines pereunt igne, vel ense cadunt.
Itur ad Herculeas honerata classe Columpnas;
Dant ibi Sirenes exiciale melos.
Tirenas transvectus aquas, ad litora tandem
Applicat, explorant que loca quive viri.
Gens prope litus ibi, Troja fumante, profecta
Exulat, Antenor, fata secuta tua.
Dux illuc pietate gravis, gravitate modestus,
Effluit, invento servat utroque modum.
Par erat Alcide pugnando; nemo gigantum
Compellare ducem ubique ausus erat.
Nomen ei *Corineus* erat; communis utrique

Jungit origo duces, jungit utrumque genus.
Ergo Phriges Phrigibus sociantur, fit Corineus
Assecla, duxque duci fit comes, immo cliens.
Dummodo fiet adhuc major duce; de Corinei
Nomine nomen adhuc gens Corinensis habet.

Classe cita maris alta secant, Aquitania tandem
Cernitur, et portus Ligeris uncus habet;
Fitque diebus ibi mora. Vir mittitur ergo
Miles ut exploret que loca prima petant.
Pictus ibi regnum tenuit Gosfarius; illum
De probitate duces fama timere facit.
Dirigit ad naves legatos, querit an arma
Dux ferat, an pacem, quidve petant ibi.
Jam nemus exierat Corineus, cumque ducentis
Legerat arva viris, fessus agendo feras.
Incius occurrit legatis; ergo rogatus
Cur sua curve feras persequeretur, ait :
" Silvestres agitate feras; studiumque Diane
Qui vetat, ille fera plus feritatis habet. "
Luditur alterius sermonibus. In Corineum
Irruit Umbertus; dux sua tela cavet.
Cominus arma movent, in frusta caput Corineus
Dessecat Umberti, cetera turba fugit.
Rex igitur feritate timens, ad bella Quirites
Excitat, et regni provocat arma sui.
Navibus at Brutus munitis collocat intus
Quicquid ibi sexus debilioris erat,
Cumque cohorte sua regi concurrit; utrinque
Acriter impugnant, hostis utrinque cadit.
Dum fieret miseranda diu cedes, Aquitannos
Impetit, inque fugam dux Corineus agit.
Amisso gladio, dat ei Fortuna bipennem,
Qua ferit; ima secat funditus ossa viri.
Miratur Brutus, miratur Dardana pubes,
Et stupet herculeum robur inesse viro.
Increpat ergo fugam : " Quid, ait, tot milia solum
Me fugitis? Numquid solus in arma vocor?

Vos tamen excusat victoris fama; gigantes,
  Qui modo vos abigit, vincere suetus erat. "
Verba Fuhardus ad hec remeabat, cumque trecentis
  Consul adest equitum, fitque ruina recens.
Fit gravis insultus, comes instat; at ille resistit.
  Hic ferit, ille cadit, fitque bipennis ebes.
Huic caput, huic humeros, brachia et crura quibusdam
  Frangit in occursu; nemo fit absque nota.
Irruit in cunctos, et in ipsum cuncta ruebant
  Agmina, nec poterat solus ab hoste premi.
Dumque furit, pietate viri commotus, ad iram
  Provocat Ideos Brutus et instat atrox.
Regia signa cadunt, Phrigibus victoria cessit;
  Fit fuga, Phrix instat, Pictus eundo celer.
Rex igitur fugiens, vix eluctatus ab hoste
  Vixque sui compos, Gallica regna petit.
Gallia rectores sortita fuit duodenos;
  Hos adit, his aperit que sibi causa vie.
Que petit annuitur, promittitur ulcio regni,
  Sevit in absentes Gallia tota Phriges.
Exultat Brutus, letatur Dardana pubes,
  Ditatur spoliis classis onusta Phrigum.
Fit miseranda viris cedes, incendia villis,
  Desolamen agris, magna ruina feris.
Explorant patriam, metantur castra, locantur
  Menia, Turonisque modo dicta polis.
Brutus habet patriam, dominatur ei, dominantur
  Victores spoliis, et dominatur agris.
Sed non securus, non tutus res alienas
  Possidet; immo locat castra, timetque sibi.

Quis timor est alii tutus sibi? nemo timetur
  Quin timeat sibi mens conscia, pena gravis.
Jam Pictus, jam magna cohors, jam Gallia tota,
  Et numerus regum jam duodenus adest.
Agmina precedit Gospharius, ac duodenis
  Dispositis turmis Postumus arma gerit.
Hostibus exclamat visis : " Invadite, fortes,

Debile vulgus, ait, semivirosque, viri. "
Agmina concurrunt, clangit lituus, tuba raucos
Emittit sonitus, cominus arma sonant.
Prevaluere Phriges, hostes cecidere; duobus
Milibus occisis, cetera turba tepet.
Sed quia major erat Gallorum turba, coactis
Viribus, impellunt in sua castra Phriges.
Fit gravis obsessis insultus; nocte sequente
Cum duce consilium sic Corineus init :
" Egrediar castris, nemorisque subibo latebras;
Gallica dum feries pectora, terga premam. "
Dum placet hoc cunctis, silvestria dux Corineus
Cum tribus egrediens milibus arva legit.
Lux aderat, properantque viri, quos Brutus ad arma
Provocat a tergo; dux Corineus adest.
Exoritur cedes, fit clamor, utrinque virorum
Milia multa cadunt, hostis utrinque furit.
Tros ibi Turnus erat, Bruti conatus in hostem
Inprobus inproborum vix Corineus erat.
Sexcentos pugnando viros occidit; at ille
Occidit et telis pectora fossus obit.
Dicta polis Turonis erat de nomine Turni,
Imposuitque loco nomen, humatus ibi.
Brutus in adversos hinc sevit, et hinc Corineus
Imminet a tergo consuliturque fuga.
Fit fuga Gallorum; sed non victoria Brutum
Commovet, imo dolet, compatiturque suis.
Consulit ergo rates conscendere, cumque triumpho
Fata sequi suadet, commonitusque deum.
Navibus ergo citis Totonesia litora pulsant;
Heret ab optatis anchora fixa vadis.
O tociens optata patris tociensque cupita
Insula jam petitur, jamque petita datur!
Terra ferax et amena situ dum nomen habebat
*Albion* indigena, plena gigante fuit.
Diffugiunt, nemorisque petunt ob[s]cura gigantes;
Nemo colonus ibi principe terra vacat.
Dux iter explorat, regiones circuit illas,

Distribuit sociis, insula sorte datur.
Edificant urbes, metantur castra, domorum
Tecta levant, condunt menia, rura colunt.
Dicitur a Bruto sortita Britannia nomen,
Dicitur et Bruti Bruto fuisse genus.
Pars Corinea datur, Corineo de duce, nomen
Patria deque viro gens Coriensis habet.
Nec eadem fertur Cornubia; dicitur ergo
A cornu patrie, vel male lingua sonat.
Eligit hanc patriam Corineus, namque gigantum
Turba redundat ibi, quos vir ad arma movet.
Herculea virtute potens, dimensus in altum
Goymagog cubitos tres habet atque ix^vem^.
Ilex aut abies quevis, radice retenta,
Sepe gigantea decidit icta manu.
Dum solitum de more diis libabat honorem
Brutus, et in portu sacra daturus erat,
Ecce gigans predictus adest; inopina Britannis
Prelia, bis denis associatus, agit.
Cominus instant, concurritur acriter; hostis
Occidit, occidunt horrida monstra Phriges.
Prevalet Ideus pugnando, cumque gigante
Goimagog pugnam dux Corineus init.
Ylia vincla terunt, oppugnant ergo lacertis
Brachia, pectoribus pectora, pesque pedi.
Implicat ergo gigans Corineum; dumque coartat
Vincula, conqueritur fragmina costa triplex.
Incitat ira ducem; revocans viribus hostem,
Inponens humeris, in mare tradit eum.
*Goemagog Saltus* locus ille vocatur ab illo
Tempore; tempus adhuc usque vocatur ita.
Dux statuit leges Thamasis prope; flumen amenum
Dum videt esse, intrat menia, fundat ibi.
Edificatur ibi metropolis, emula Troje;
Menibus a Troje nomine nomen habet.
Nomen ei *Nova Troja* datur, pro hoc *Trinovantum*
Utpote corrupto nomine nomen habet.
Hec est illa polis, cui tres tria dona ministrant,

Bacus, Apollo, Ceres, pocula, carmen, ador.
Hec est illa polis quam Juno, Minerva, Diana,
Mercibus, arte, feris, ditat, adornat, alit.
Hec nova Troja prius *Trinovantum*, deinde *Kaerdul*,
Postea *Lundonie*, sed modo nomen habet.
Lud, cum quo Cesar commisit prelia, frater
Cassibellani, nominis auctor erat.
Urbe decorata, multiplice turre referta,
Civibus instituit dux sua jura suis.

Rex tunc Heli Judee regna sacerdos,
Et Philisteis cesserat archa Dei.
Hectoree Troja successio posteritatis
Rexit, et Hectoree Pergama prolis erant.
Silvius, Enee proles et avunculus idem
Bruti, regnabat, jura Latina regens.
Innogen uxorem Brutus cognovit; at illa
Tres peperit natos nobilitate pares :
Par probitas illi, par virtus, parque decoris
Gracia, par fame gloria, parque decus.
Locrinus primo natus, Camberque secundo,
Albanactus erat tercius, hisque minor.
Ungitur in senium genitor, senioque gravatus
Dividit his regnum; pars sua cuique datur.
Annis sceptra tenens bidenis atque duobus,
Arripit humane conditionis iter.
Debita nature solvit. Spiraminis aer
Dis anime iñolis; fit quoque terra capax.

Unde superbit racione carens? Alienum
Quicquid habet poterit ducere, nilque suum.
Mors homini stimulus, mors culpe pena parentis,
Justior invidia mors quoque morte nichil.
Rex fluit in cineres, domus urna, locus Trinovantum;
Splendida pransus herus vermibus esca datur.

Locrino quia majori res maxima regni
Cesserat, et mores exprimit ille patris.

Altera pars Cambro, que nunc quoque Gualia fertur,
   Contigit, a Cambro *Cambria* nomen habens;
Fit sua pars minimo, sua pars *Albania* nomen
   A duce tunc habuit, *Scocia* dicta modo.
Dum sua regna diu concordi pace vigerent,
   Humbertus ad Albanos applicat, arma gerens.
Rex erat Hunorum, cui gens Albana resistit
   Cum duce fida suo; dux cadit, illa fugit.
Hostibus insidias, audito funere fratris,
   Locrinus, Cambro consociatus, agit.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

   Viribus explicitis et fugiens turpiter Humbertus abit.
Dum fugit, obstat ei flumen, subjungitur illic,
   Deque suo tribuit nomine nomen aque.
Ergo ditatus spoliis auroque potitus,
   Victor, distribuit singula queque suis.

Tres ibi candoris nivei, roseique coloris,
   Feminei sexus regia classis habet.
Pulcrior his Hestrildis erat. Germania tellus
   Hanc aluit; raptus rex pater hujus erat.
Tota decora fuit sine nevis et sine ruga;
   Nil sibi quod livor carpere possit erat.
Humbertus eam rapuit vastando suam regionem,
   Arripuitque duas dum rapuisset eam.
Cessit ei probitate Ceres, Citherea decore,
   Juno pudicicia, nobilitate Rea.
Captus ea Locrinus erat, nec captus, at ustus,
   Ustus, at, ut dicam, unius ardor erat.
Hanc amat, hanc optat, sola suspirat in illa;
   Sic amat ille furens, sic furit ipse furor.
Nec curat leges, nec curat murmura vulgi,
   Nec placet alterius teda jugalis ei.
Displicet hec Corinee tibi quoque teda jugalis
   Quam pepigit, nate sit sibi nata modo.
Dux ergo de more furit, raptaque bipenne
   Alloquitur regem, sicque minatur ei :
" Siccine reddis, ait, mihi premia, reddis honores?

Hos mihi regna dedi qui tibi quique patri.
Jam tibi friget amor, languent connubia vate;
Nondum nupta quidem jam viduata dolet.
Pulcrior uxor adest; sed barbara, sed fugitiva,
Sed lupa, sed cilices novit amare vagos.
Facta lues, si forte queam vibrare bipennem,
Que mihi sint vires experiere modo. "
Hec iterans clamabat item, simulque furenti
Insilit, opstat ei curia, paxque datur.
Rex igitur promissa duci, dux mutua regi,
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Solvit, et uxor ei; sed onus, sed cura, sed error,
Sed labor et jugis sollicitudo datur.

In licitis minus ardet amor, minus acriter urit;
Plus juvat illicitus plusque saporis habet.
Plus amor Hestrildis, minus illum Guendoloene
Commovet; hinc fervet flamma, sed mihi dolet.
Quicquid amatis patitur tanquam nil senciat illi,
Sic labor est requies, sic leve dura pati.
Gaudet amans mala plura pati; quia plurima sudans,
Plus amat adversis, multiplicatur amor.
Fit specus, inque specu latitabat .iiij$^{or}$. annis
Et tribus Hestrildis, rexque potitur ea.
Ergo tumet partu, natam parit, ut reor, ipsa.
Maris hominis speciem cetera pene patris
Guendoloena parit, nati fit mater in ore.
Gestat avum, nomen fertur habere *Madan*.

Guendoloena sui post fata patris reprobatur;
Hanc fugat Hestrildis, regia facta comes.
Guendoloena dolet, petitur Cornubia, vulgus
Convocat et proceres, consulit, acta refert.
Conpaciuntur here proceres et prelia suadent,
Conpatiturque sibi vulgus et arma capit.
Militibus confisa suis, regina tirannum
Inpetit, afflictus fit prope Sturen aque.
Hostibus oppugnant hostes, lesusque sagitta

Locrinus moritur, victaque turba fugit.
Rege cadente cadit gens regia, rege peremto
Pax fit, et inperii femina jura rapit.
Digna virago patris jam femina, cumque parente,
Ut jubet, in fluvium precipitatur Abren.
Nomen *Abren* fluvio de virgine nomen eidem
Nomine corrupto, deinde *Saberna* datur.
Annis bis senis regnans post fata mariti
Exuit, et nato dat diadema suo.
Suficit ergo sibi Cornubia; dumque vigebat
Vita sibi, patrio more regebat eam.
Silvius Italiam Samuelque propheta regebat
Judeam, vates luxit Homerus adhuc.
Ergo Madan geminos genuit de conjuge natos :
Alter Menpicius, Mansin at alter erat.
Utque quater denis regnum possederat armis,
Stematis et vite fit sibi meta sue.
Lis oritur natis, regnum captatur utrique ;
Cum nec utrique queat cedere totus honor,
Colloquium capitur. Menpicius instimulatus
Demone, fraternum polluit ense capud.
Optinuit regnum, non rex tamen, immo tirannus;
Deletor proprie gentis et hostis erat.
Hic ut adversus erat pueris, uxore relicta,
Que fuit Eubrauci mater, ad ima ruit.
Ut sua bis denis feritas regnaverat annis,
Venatu rediens fit cibus ille lupis.

Tunc in Judea Saul regnabat; at ille
In Lacedemonia, cui grave nomen erat :
Nominis *Eu* pars prima sui, pars altera *ca* sit,
*Ristius* addatur tercia, nomen habens.
Ebraucus post fata patris, denis quater annis
Sceptra regens, magne vir probitatis erat,
Post Brutum, qui primus erat qui Gallica regna
Navibus advectus depopulatus erat.
Gallorum spoliis, predaque recente potitus,
Ad sua navigio regna redibat ovans.

Conditor urbis erat que nunc *Eboracus* ab ejus
Nomine nomen habet, qui decoravit eam.

Tunc in Judea David rex, atque Latinus
Silvius in Lacio regna tenebat avus.
Festa dies pascalis adest; duc ocia, Clio;
Et requies et pax, sitque remissa melis.

*Explicit Brutus.*

# THE
# LAND OF MORGAN:

BEING A

CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE HISTORY

OF THE

## LORDSHIP OF GLAMORGAN.

BY

GEO. T. CLARK.

*Reprinted, with Additions and Alterations, from the* JOURNAL OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

LONDON:
WHITING & CO., LIM., 30 & 32 SARDINIA ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.
1883.

PRINTED BY
WHITING AND CO., LIMITED, 30 AND 32, SARDINIA STREET, W.C.

# CONTENTS.

# INTRODUCTION.

In the following pages an attempt is made to relate the history of the Lords of Glamorgan from its Conquest and settlement by Robert Fitz Hamon down to the extinction, in the male line, of the House of Clare, his descendants and successors. The history of the Lords, for that period, is in fact the history of the Lordship, inasmuch as the system of feudal tenures prevailed there in all its strictness, and the relation between the Chief Lord, his tenants, and their tenants, being of a military character, in the presence of a brave and implacable foe, was one of unusual closeness. The Lordship itself was a fief of the Crown, and every manor within it was held, mediately or immediately, of the Chief Lord, as of his Castle of Cardiff.

The Lord held *per integram baroniam*, but the limitations attending the tenure, undefined by grant or charter, were not only widely different from those of an ordinary barony or honour, but appear to have been different also from those of the other Marcher Lordships. Glamorgan was a county, and its ambulatory parliament is styled a *Comitatus*, and was composed of the greater tenants, probably from ten to twenty in number, each of whom, though differing in the amount of their holdings of the Lord, had to provide a lodging at his own expense within the Castle yard at Cardiff, connected with their double capacity of defenders of the Castle in war, and advisers of its Lord in times of peace. Each, moreover, had his own castle, and some of them were also Lords of mesne manors and castles, whose tenants paid to them services similar to their own.

The *Comitatus* was a Court of Chancery or Record,

composed of the Lord's principal tenants or *barones comitatus*, presided over by the Lord's Vice-Comes, or Sheriff, from the decisions of which there lay no appeal to the Crown, and which levied fines, and regulated wardships, escheats, scutages, inquisitions, forfeitures, and other usual incidents of the feudal system. One of latest fines levied before this Court, in the time of Jasper, Duke of Bedford, describes Sir Richard Croft, Knight, Sheriff, as presiding, and Richard Turberville, David Mathew, John Butler, John ap Jenkyn ap Riderch, and John Carne as the Barons. No doubt the Marcher Lords generally levied fines and stepped into escheated lands, but the machinery of government in the lordship of Glamorgan seems to have been of a far more extensive and perfect character than elsewhere. It certainly was far more so than in the contiguous lordships of Gower, Brecknock, and Upper Gwent, and probably than in any other Welsh Marcher lordship, save only Chester. How it came about that Fitz Hamon obtained and transmitted such exceptional privileges is not known. The nearly contemporary conquerors of Gwent, Brecknock, Gower, Caermarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke, were to the full as great men as Fitz Hamon, and the Lord of Montgomery was certainly greater and more powerful, but so far as has been ascertained, in none of these districts was the jurisdiction of the complete character of that established in Glamorgan. Something, probably, was due to the position of Glamorgan under its Welsh princes, some of whom bore the title of King, holding Cardiff as their principal seat of government, and the district about it as the Royal cantred or hundred. The laws and customs of Glamorgan were also of a peculiar character, and the Norman Lords, powerful as they were, found it convenient to respect them, at least as regards the more mountainous and more purely Welsh part of their territory.

There could not be a more complete *imperium in imperio* than was the sway of the Norman Lord of

Glamorgan, within the lordship. It was described as "sicut regale". Cardiff and the Taff were his Bungay and Waveney; and once there seated, no King of Cockney could reach him. Coyty, and at least one hill lordship, comprising the two commotes of Senghenydd, were held of him *per baroniam;* Avan, the only important lowland lordship in the hands of a Welsh family of rank, was held by serjeantry. Most of the manors were held directly of Cardiff by the tenure of Castle-guard; a few were held immediately of the larger manors. All the greater tenants, with the exception of the Lords of Avan and Senghenydd, and perhaps one or two more, were of Norman blood, and also held estates in England, chiefly within the Honour of Gloucester, within the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, Devon, and Dorset. The *Liber Niger* gives a list of the knights who held of the Honour, and in it occur the names of twenty who also held lands in Glamorgan. These are Berkerolles, de Cardiff, Cogan, Constantine, Croc, Grenville, de Londres, Maisi, de la Mare, Nerbert, Norris, Pennard, Reigny, St. Quintin, Le Sore, Somery, Umfranville, Villers, Walsh, and de Winton. This list, moreover, for some unknown reason omits a number of other knightly tenants who held lands in Devon, Dorset, and Somerset, also within the Honour, and many of whom not only held lands but have given their names to parishes and manors in Glamorgan. Such are Bawdrip, Hawey, de la More, St. John, and Turberville, and in the latter class, Barry, Bonville, Cantelupe, Fleming, and Sully.

As the Lords of Glamorgan also held the Honour of Gloucester, cases of divided allegiance were rare. Only one such is on record, where the Beauchamps of Hache claimed the wardship of Hawey, who held the manor of Combe-Hawey in Somerset of the Beauchamps, and that of St. Donats in Glamorgan of the Earls of Gloucester. The case came before the *Comitatus*, but the finding is not on record. The only other case in which the proceedings before the *Comitatus* are preserved re-

lated to the right of appeal to the King's Court. During the troubled reign of Henry III, Richard Siward, a Glamorgan baron, Lord of Talavan and Llanblethian, having rebelled against the Lord, the *Curia Comitatus* declared his estates forfeited, and himself "waiviatum de comitatu" or "Wolveshed" according to the usage of the county. Siward, on this, appealed to the *Curia Regis*, on the ground that the Earl was a party concerned, and could not therefore be a fair judge. The Lord refused to acknowledge or plead to such an appeal, and called on the King to respect his privileges. Naturally the King was anxious to break down the Marcher powers, which in truth were inconsistent with the uniform government of the State, and Henry happened at that conjuncture to have the upper hand. The result was a compromise, but it was evident that the local court had always been independent of the *Curia Regis.*

Even as late as the reign of Henry IV, the general laws of the kingdom had but little force in Glamorgan; for, in the 12th of that King, the Escheator is exonerated for failing in a levy, on the ground that he could not be expected to execute his office where the King's writ did not run, "propter nimiam et magnam potentiam et resistenciam"; and a century or so later a messenger of the Court of Chancery, who tried to serve an order of Court at Radyr, was pelted with stones from the roof of the Manor House, and had to quit the Principality *re infectâ.* But the currency denied to the laws of the realm was permitted to the old native customs, to which the people were much attached. These, however, were confined almost entirely to the hill lordships and commotes. In the vale, where nearly all the larger landholders were of foreign origin, the laws were practically those of England. Land descended to the male heir, and failing him, in coparceny to females. Copyhold tenure, unknown in the Hills, was common, and heriots were very general. Ordinary justice was administered by Courts-leet and

Courts-baron, and the burgesses and freeholders, in many cases all Welshmen, elected their own officers, subject to a well-defined and moderate *veto* from the Lord. In a few manors gavelkind prevailed, and in one or two borough-English.

The Lord's power originally extended over the possessions and dignities of the Church. He was patron of the Abbeys of Neath and Margam, and exercised the right of *baculum pastorale*, of appointing or confirming the election of the Abbot. Also he had the same power, or *dignitas crociæ*, with regard to the Bishopric of Llandaff. The Crown, indeed, challenged this, and in the reign of Edward I it was compromised; but the Lord continued to collate to the Archdeaconry and other Cathedral preferments, *sede vacante*, and, during such intervals, to hold the temporalities of the See. The Act of the 27 Henry VIII, cap. 26, gives, among other reasons for the new settlement of Wales, that its "rights, usages, laws, and customs be far discrepant from the laws and customs of the realm", but neither here nor in any other of the Acts relating to Wales do we find any description or distinct allusion to, still less any recognition of, the Marcher Courts and customs. The Act above cited, in constituting the King's Courts in Glamorgan, enumerates as parts of the new shire the Lordships of Gower, Kilvae, Bishopston, Llandaff, Senghenydd *supra* and *subtus*, Miskin, Ogmore, Glyn-Rothney, Talygarn, Ruthyn, Talavan, Llanblethian, Llantwid, Tir-y-Iarl, Avan, Neath, Llantweie, and the Clays, all of which seem originally to have had distinct jurisdictions. One of the exceptions to the new system is in favour of Henry, Earl of Worcester, who remained "Justice of the shire of Glamorgan".

The mysterious and total disappearance of the records of the *Comitatus*, is fatal to anything like a complete history of Glamorgan. Fortunately, however, the lordship being held *in capite*, the King had a right to an *inquisitio post mortem* on the death of each Lord, and to the custody of the lordship and the heir, if

a minor. These inquisitions have been preserved with the records of the realm, and throw great light upon the descent of the landed property, as do the Pipe rolls for the corresponding periods upon the sources of income and the details of expenditure. Moreover, as most of the Lords of Manors were of English descent, and either the heads or cadets of existing English families, these names appear in English records, especially in those connected with the western counties. Also, although the cartulary and most of the charters of Neath Abbey are lost, and the cartulary of Margam is inaccessible, there is preserved in the British Museum a large collection of the charters of the latter Abbey, and at Gloucester many of the grants relating to the property in Glamorgan of the Abbey of St. Peter, Several of the boroughs also have preserved their charters, and a few exist at St. Donats and Fonmon, and in the collection of the late most industrious antiquary Mr. Francis. From these sources has been drawn what is known of the history of the county before the reign of Henry VIII, and what is recorded in the following pages. The public records relating to South Wales, and more especially to Glamorgan, have been searched with equal industry and acuteness by Mr. Floyd, to whom the writer has to acknowledge obligations too extensive to be more particularly specified.

Talygarn, 1883.

# THE LAND OF MORGAN: ITS CONQUEST AND ITS CONQUERORS.

---

Of the forty shires of England there are certainly not a score of which good histories have been written, and not above five or six and twenty of which there are any tolerable histories at all. Even Yorkshire, so rich in antiquities of every kind, ethnological, ethnographical, architectural, and genealogical; in prehistoric tumuli; in proper names given by the Briton, the Roman, and the Northman; in march dykes; Roman and other encampments; military roads and moated mounds; in the ruins of glorious abbeys and mighty castles; in its noble cathedral and grand parish churches, upon two of which the brevet rank of cathedral has been imposed; in its venerable and splendid country seats, and in its ancient and often historic families—even Yorkshire, so rich in all these varied and tempting subjects, and rich too in material wealth, has yet met with no historian. Divisions of the county, as Richmondshire and Hallamshire, Doncaster, and Sheffield, are the subjects of works quite of the first class, but neither the local history of the great Shire, nor even that of one of its Ridings, has been placed upon record. If such be the case in wealthy and cultivated England, it is no great shame in Wales to be, as regards county histories, in a still more unprovided condition, as indeed the Principality must be admitted to be. There is but one history, Jones's *Brecknock*, of any Welsh county, at all worthy of the name, for assuredly neither Fenton's *Pembrokeshire* nor Meyrick's *Cardigan* merit that title. And yet, as is abundantly shown in the volumes of the

*Archæologia Cambrensis*, and in the copious though incidental notices of Wales in Eyton's excellent *History of Early Shropshire*, it is not the material that is wanting. Cambria, though not the cradle, the latest home of the Cymric people, has no reason to complain of her share of the gifts of nature or of their adaptation to produce material prosperity. The incurvated coast, whence the country is thought to derive its name, abounds in bays and headlands of extreme beauty and grandeur. In the North, its scenery is bold and striking; in the South it is of a softer character, and celebrated rather for its valleys than its mountains, its meandering rivers rather than its dashing torrents. In mineral wealth the North is not deficient, but the South has the lion's share, nor does any part of it approach in value the division of Glamorgan. Here, in the centre of the Welsh coal field, that mineral is not only abundant in quantity, easy of access and convenient for transport by sea, but it is of a character equally removed from the bituminous varieties of the east and the anthracite of the west, so that it produces unusual steam power in proportion to its weight and bulk, and does so without raising the usual accompaniment of smoke—qualities which render it valuable in commerce and still more in request in naval warfare.

Wales, moreover, and especially Glamorgan, was for centuries the scene of romantic and spirit-stirring events, and has had a large measure of ecclesiastical and military renown. To Pelagius, though their names have the "merit of congruity", the land of Morgan cannot indeed lay claim; and too many of her early sons, like the Greeks before Agamemnon, slumber unrecorded beneath her cairns and barrows. But of others, notices have survived, and their sweet savour is found in the churches which they have founded, in the records of Llandaff, the earliest of British bishoprics, and in the fragmentary, but ancient literature of the people. Bede relates how "Lever Mawr", the "great light", better known in translation as King Lucius,

moved Eleutherius, A.D. 160, to send over from Rome Fagan and Dyvan to preach the gospel to his people. They settled at Avalon, but seem to have laboured much across the Severn, where their names are yet preserved in the Churches of St. Fagan and Merthyr Dovan, the latter indicating the manner in which its founder bore testimony to his faith.

Gildas, an author of the sixth century, whose name is prefixed to the treatise *De excidio Britanniæ*, written certainly before the time of Bede, is associated with Glamorgan, from having paid a visit to St. Cadoc at Llancarvan, where, before either Saxon or Norman had profaned the banks of the Carvan, the Siloa of Glamorgan, many of those holy men who gained the appellation of *terra sanctorum* for the land in which they laboured, were educated and sent forth to their work. The monastic school, or *Chorea Sanctorum* of Llancarvan, is said to have been founded by the saints Germanus and Lupus to counteract the Pelagianism of the district, strong in the name and heresy of Morgan; but the claim of Germanus in this respect is challenged for Dubricius, a saint of the close of the sixth century, and for Cadoc, or Cattwg, a saint and prince, whose name survives in the adjacent Cadoxton, whose triad has gained for him the appellation of "the wise", and who, with St. David and Nennius, claims to have shared in the instruction of St. Finnian, one of the apostles of Christian Ireland. A charter by Merchiaun, witnessed by Bishop Gwrgan (Gucawnus), who died A.D. 982, mentions the Abbot "totius dignitatis ecclesiæ sancti Cattoci Lancarvanie"; and it was at Llancarvan, towards the middle of the twelfth century, that Caradoc, named from thence, penned that account of the Principality known as the *Brut-y-Tywysogion*, which, expanded and continued by the successive labours of Price and Lloyd, Powell and Wynne, still holds the chief place in Welsh historical literature. In Llancarvan also, upon his patrimony of Trev-Walter, or Walterston, was probably born Walter Calenius, or

de Map, a son of Blondel de Map, chaplain to Fitz-Hamon, and who acquired the property by marriage with Flwr, its Welsh heiress. Walter became chaplain to Henry I, and Archdeacon of Oxford, and was one of those who, during the reigns of the two Henrys, and under the protection of Robert Earl of Gloucester, Lord of Glamorgan, promoted the growth of English literature, and was besides celebrated for his lively and pungent satires upon Becket and the clergy of his day. He also seems to have added largely to the stocks of Arthurian romance, and to have made popular those legends upon which his friend and contemporary Geoffrey of Monmouth founded his well-known volume. These well-springs of Cymric history are, indeed, scanty and turbid, and must be drawn from with great discrimination; but it is from them, from the *Lifr Coch*, or Red Book, otherwise known as the Book of Llandaff, and from the lives of St. Cadoc, St. Iltyd, and other of the Welsh saints, that is derived all that is known of the history of Glamorgan before the Norman invasion. Nor is the testimony of the *Book of Llandaff* confined to Llancarvan. Both Llan-Iltyd or Llantwit, under the presidency of St. Iltutus, and Docunni or Llandoch, now Llandough upon the Ely, were celebrated as monastic colleges early in the fifth century; and even now, in the churchyard of each place, are seen those singular obelisks or upright stones, rudely, but effectively, adorned with knot-work in stone, and of very ancient, though uncertain, date.

Glamorgan extends about fifty-three miles along the northern shore of the Bristol Channel, here broadening into an estuary. From the seaboard as a base it passes inland twenty-nine miles in the figure of a triangle, the northern point abutting upon the range of the Beacons of Brecknock. Its principal towns, Cardiff and Swansea, are placed near the southern angles of the triangle: Merthyr, of far later growth, stands at the northern angle, and near the head, as Cardiff is near the opening, of the Taff, and Swansea of the Tawe. Aberdare upon

the Cynon, and Tre-Herbert upon the Rhondda, tributaries of the Taff, are the centres of immense nebulæ of population, at this time condensing with more than American rapidity into considerable towns. The actual boundaries of the county, east and west, are the Afon-Eleirch or Swan river, now the Rhymny, from Monmouthshire, and the Llwchwr or Burry from Caermarthenshire. The episcopal village and Cathedral of Llandaff stand upon the *Llan* or mead of the Taff, a little above Cardiff.

The great natural division of the county is into upland and lowland, called by the old Welsh the *Blaenau* and the *Bro;* the latter extending, like the Concan of Bombay, as a broad margin along the seaboard, and covering about a third of the area; the former, rising abruptly like the Syhadree Ghauts, and lying to the north. The Bro, though containing sea cliffs of a hundred feet, is rather undulating than hilly; the Blaenau is throughout mountainous, and contains elevations which rise to 1,200, 1,600, and, at Carn Moysin, to 2,000 feet. From this high ground spring the rivers of the county. Besides the four already mentioned, are the Nedd, on which are the town of Neath and the dock of Briton-Ferry, the Ely with the dock of Penarth, the Ogwr flowing through Bridgend, and the Cowbridge Thawe, whose waters roll into the sea over a field of water-worn lias pebbles, in repute as an hydraulic limestone, in great request among engineers, and as celebrated as that of Barrow on the Soar. Besides these are a multitude of small streams bearing Welsh names, some of which, as the Sarth or Javelin, and the Twrch or Boar, are highly significant.

The Llwchwr is the only Glamorgan river admitting, in any degree, of navigation, and that to a very small extent. The other streams are rapid and uncertain, sometimes foaming torrents, sometimes dry beds of shingle, but more commonly with a moderate flow. They descend through those wild and rocky but always verdant valleys, for which Glamorgan is justly famed.

Both the Taff and the Nedd are celebrated for their scenery, but the Taff has the advantage not only in the conflux of valleys, which form so pleasing a feature at Pont-y-Prydd, but in the grand cleft by which that river, guarded by the ancient castle of the De Clares, and the far more ancient camp of British origin, bursts from its constraint amidst the mountains, and rolls in easy and graceful curves across the plain of Cardiff.

Cardiff, the principal port of the county, is formed by the union of the Taff and the Ely, and its roadstead is protected by the headland of Penarth. Swansea, its western rival, opens upon its celebrated bay: Briton-Ferry, Port Talbot, and Porth Cawl are intermediate and smaller ports. A curious feature upon several points of the sea-coast are the large deposits of blown sand, probably an accumulation of the twelfth century, but first mentioned in a charter of Richard II, 1384, in which he grants to the Abbot and Convent of Margam the forfeited advowson of Avene *propter suam terram per sabulum maritimum destructam in nimiam depauperacionem abbatiæ.* This sand, the movement of the surface of which has hitherto defied all attempts at planting, has advanced upon Merthyr Mawr and Kenfig and some parts of Gower, and, like the dragon of Wantley, has swallowed up much pasture, at least three churches, a castle, a village or two, and not a few detached houses.

The superficial features of the county are largely affected by its mineral composition. The mountain districts contain the coal-field, of late years so extensively worked: the lowlands are mainly old red sandstone and mountain limestone, more or less eroded by water, and covered up by the unconformable, and nearly horizontal, beds of the magnesian conglomerate, the new red, and the lias. The county contains no igneous rocks, nothing known older than the old red, and no regular formation later than the lias. The gravels, however, are on a large scale, and their sections throw much light upon the origin and dip of the

pebbles, and therefore upon the measure and direction of their depositing forces.

The charms of Glamorgan have not wanted keen appreciation. An early triad asserts of it :—

"The Bard loves this beautiful country,
Its wines, its wives, and its white houses."

Its wines are, alas! no more; not even the patriotic efforts of Lord Bute, in his vineyard at Castell Coch, have as yet been able to raise a murmur from the local temperance societies; but the white cottages still glisten, nestled in the recesses of the hills; and if its wives no longer enjoy a special pre-eminence in Wales it is only because the fair sex of other counties, emulous of the distinction, have attained to the same merits. The verses, by Dean Conybeare, in which the sentiments of this triad are embodied, seem worthy of preservation here :—

"Morganwg! thy vales are fair,
Proud thy mountains rise in air;
And frequent, through the varied scene
Thy white-walled mansions glare between:
May the radiant lamp of day
Ever shed its choicest ray
On those walls of glittering white;
Morganwg! the Bards' delight.

"Morganwg! those white walls hold
A matchless race in warfare bold;
In peace the pink of courtesy,
In love are none so fond and free.
May, etc.

"Morganwg! those white walls know
All of bliss is given below,
For there in honour dwells the bride,
Her lover's joy, her husband's pride.
May, etc."

The glowing description of Speed has been often quoted, and is well known; a modern and more prosaic writer, following in the same school of geography that has compared Italy to a boot, and Oxfordshire to a seated old woman, has employed a sort of *memoria*

*technica* for the general form of Glamorgan, which he likens to a porpoise in the act of diving: "Roath represents its mouth, Ruperra its prominent snout, Blaen-Rhymny and Waun-cae-Gerwin its dorsal fins, the peninsula of Gower its outstretched tail, and the Hundred of Dinas Powis its protuberant belly." Higden, writing in the fourteenth century, extends his panegyric to the whole Principality.

"Sic propero ad Walliam
Ad Priami prosapiam,
Ad Magni Jovis sanguinem
Ad Dardani progeniem.
* * * *

"Terra foecunda fructibus
Et carnibus et piscibus;
Domesticis, silvestribus,
Bobus, equis, et ovibus;
Apta cunctis seminibus,
Culmis, spicis, graminibus;
Arvis, pratis, nemoribus,
Herbis gaudet, et floribus;
Fluminibus et fontibus,
Convallibus et montibus.
Convalles pastum proferunt,
Montes metalla conferunt;
Carbo sub terræ cortice,
Crescit viror in vertice;
Calcem per artis regulas
Præbet ad tecti, tegulas.
Epularum materia
Mel, lac, et lacticinia,
Mulsum, medo, cervisia,
Abundant in hac patria,
Et quicquid vitæ congruit
Ubertim terra tribuit.
* * * *

"Convictus hujus patriæ
Differt a ritu Angliæ,
In vestibus in victibus,
In cæteris quam pluribus,
His vestium insignia
Sunt clamis et camisia,
Et crispa femoralia.
Sub ventis et sub pluvia,
Plura non ferunt tegmina
Quamvis brumescat Borea.
* * * *

"Itidem in South-Wallia
Apud Kærdiff est insula,
Juxta Sabrinum pelagus,
Barri dicta antiquitus,
In cujus parte proxima,
Apparet rima modica,
Ad quam si aurem commodes
Sonum mirandum audies,
Nunc quasi flatus follium
Nunc metallorum sonitum
Cotis ferri fricamina
Fornacis nunc incendia.
Sed hoc non est difficile
Ex fluctibus contingere
Marinis subintrantibus
Hunc sonum procreantibus."

Glamorgan received a western addition and became a regular county in the reign of Henry VIII, but the ancient limit still divides the sees of Llandaff and St. David's. Both districts, by some accounts, were included in the ancient Morganwg. "Glamorgan", says Rees Meyric, "differs from Morganwg, as the particulars from the general," Morganwg being the older name and far more comprehensive territory. "Morganwg", says the same authority, "extended from Gloucester Bridge to the Crumlyn Brook near Neath, if not to the Towy River, and included parts of the later shires of Gloucester, Monmouth, Hereford, Brecknock, and Glamorgan, and it may be of Caermarthen." Glamorgan, on the other hand, seems to have been confined to that part of the present county that lies along the seaboard, south of the portway, or road, probably Roman, from Cardiff to Cowbridge and Neath, and this it is which is said to have been ruled by Morgan Hên, or the aged, in the middle of the tenth century. To this Prince has been attributed the name of his territory, Gwlad-Morgan or Morgan's country, and there is no evidence for its earlier use. The rule of his descendants, however, under the same name, seems to have included the northern or hill country; and, finally, Fitz-Hamon and his successors, although of the ancient Morganwg they held only that

small part between the Rhymny and the Usk, always styled themselves "Domini Morganiæ et Glamorganiæ" in their charters, nor was the style altered even when the Monmouthshire lands passed away for a time by a co-heir to the Audleys.

The Britons, both of East and West Britain, seem, when fairly conquered, to have accepted the Roman yoke with equanimity; and it is evident, from the remains of Roman villas all over Wales, that the intruders lived there in peace. This was never the case with the English. The Welsh never accepted their rule, and their language contains many expressions indicating their deadly and continued hate. Even in the Herefordshire Irchenfield, where many parishes bear English names, and which probably from the time of Alfred was part of an English county, and along the Shropshire border, within and about Offa's Dyke, all the English dwellings were fortified. The points of contact between the Welsh and the various tribes of Northmen were numerous; sometimes on the English border, where a large infusion of the names are English, sometimes along the sea-coast, where such names as Skokholm, Holm, Sealm, Gresholm, Gatholm, Strumble Head, Nangle, and Swansea, savour strongly of the Baltic; and it seems probable that in some degree to those early Vikings, as well as to the later settlements of Flemings or English, is due the Teutonic element which prevails in the topography of Lower Pembroke and Gower. In Glamorgan, however, the Welsh in the eleventh century seem pretty well to have recovered their territory, and to have disposed of their invaders as they disposed of Harold himself when he attempted to erect a hunting lodge for the Confessor at Portskewit.

Gwrgan, the penultimate Welsh prince who ruled over Glamorgan, is usually called by the Welsh Lord of Morganwg; which, however, he certainly never held in its extended sense, his rule having been confined to the tract from the Usk to the Crumlyn, and from the

Brecknock border to the sea. His name is said to be preserved in Gwrganstown, near Cowbridge, but he lives chiefly in the memory of the Welsh as having laid open the Common of Hirwaun, thence known as "Hirwaun-Wrgan", or "Gwrgan's long meadow", near Aberdare.

Jestyn ap Gwrgan, his son and successor, had a powerful and ambitious neighbour in Rhys ap Twdwr, Lord of Deheubarth, or the shires of Caermarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke, with whom, as was natural to his race, he was at war; and getting, or fearing to get, the worst in the struggle, he dispatched Einion ap Collwyn, a refugee from Dyfed, who had lived much with the Normans, to Robert Fitz-Hamon for aid. Fitz-Hamon was a friend and follower of Rufus, and Lord of the Honour of Gloucester, the magnificent heritage of Brictric, who is said to have refused the hand of Matilda, who afterwards married William the Conqueror, but never forgave the *spretæ injuria formæ*. The Roman de Brut says :—

"Meis Brictrich Maude refusa
Dunt ele mult se coruça."

Fitz-Hamon, not insensible to the attractions of a Marcher Lordship, crossed the Severn with his troops, and landed, it is said, at Porthkerry in or about 1093. Joining his forces to those of Jestyn, they met, attacked, and conquered Rhys at Bryn-y-beddau near Hirwaun, within or close upon the border of Brecknock, and slew him on the brow of an adjacent hill in Glyn Rhondda, thence called Penrhys. Goronwy, a son of Rhys, also was slain, and Cynan, another son, was drowned in a large marsh between Neath and Swansea, thence called Pwll-Cynan.

The Normans are said to have received their subsidy at the "Mill-tir-awr", or Golden Mile, near Bridgend, and to have departed by land. Einion, however, was refused his guerdon, the hand of Jestyn's daughter; on which he recalled the Normans, who had a fray at

Mynydd Bychan, near Cardiff, at which Jestyn was slain. Einion's reward was the hill-lordship of Senghenydd, but in the Welsh tradition he is always stigmatised as Einion-fradwr, "the traitor". Jestyn was also supported by Cedrych ap Gwaethfoed, Lord of Cardigan, but closely connected with Glamorgan, and ancestor of Lewis of Van and other of the older families in the east of the county.

The proceedings of Fitz-Hamon during and upon his conquest have been woven into a legendary tale, very neat and round, very circumstantial, but as deficient in evidence as though it had proceeded from the pen of Geoffrey himself. The story, which in South Wales is an article of faith, explains the jealousy between Rhys and Jestyn, resting, of course, upon a woman; the cause of the special selection of Einion to bring in the Normans; the battle of Hirwaun-Wrgan; the death of Rhys and his sons; the payment of the Normans in gold; the refusal to Einion of his guerdon; the retirement and return of the Normans; the death of Jestyn and the occupation of his territory; and, finally, its partition between the conqueror and his twelve principal followers, and four or five Welshmen.

By whom, or when this story was concocted is not known. It was certainly accepted without challenge in the reign of Elizabeth, and could scarcely have been circulated before the extinction of the Le Despencers, early in the fifteenth century. Probably its author was some follower of the Stradlings of St. Donats, a family somewhat given to literature, whose fictitious pedigree it sets forth as true. What is certain is, that whatever may have been the cause alleged, the invasion was not really due to any local quarrel, but was part of a settled policy for completing the English conquest; a policy which, if not undertaken by Fitz-Hamon, would have been carried out by Rufus in person, or by some of the adventurers who about the same time were taking possession of Monmouth and Brecknock and the whole of South-west Wales. In-

deed, Rufus awaited the result of Fitz-Hamon's expedition at Alveston, between Bristol and Gloucester, and is supposed to have been only prevented by illness from bearing a share in it. A few months after the main success there seems to have been a rising of the Welsh in Wentloog, Glamorgan, and Gower, the result of which, according to the Brut, was so far successful that it secured for them somewhat better terms, of which, however, there is but little evidence in what is known of the disposition of the lands.

It is singular that of so notable a man as Fitz-Hamon so little should be known. His father, "Hamo Dentatus", seems to have received favours from Duke William, who specially noticed his defection, with that of Neel de St. Sauveur, Grimont de Plessy, and Ranulph of Bayeux at Val-è-Dunes, as recorded in the *Cronique des Ducs de Normandie* :—

"Par cel Rannol de Beiesin
E par Neel de Costentin
E par Hamun uns Antecriz
E par Grimont des Plaiseiz.

. . . . .

Felon, parjor e traïtor
E vers Deu e vers lor Seignor
Neel, Hamun, Ranol, Grimont."

In the battle, among the leaders, was "Haimonem agnomine Dentatum", who led the first line of six thousand men and much distinguished himself, fighting hand to hand with the King of France, by whose attendants he was slain. He is there called Sieur de Thorigny, de Bersy, et de Creully, and his war-cry (according to the Roman de Rou), was "St. Amant";

"Et Han-a-dens va reclamant,
'St. Amant', sire 'Saint Amant'."[1]

Malmesbury speaks of Haimon as "Avum Roberti qui nostro tempore in Anglia multarum possessionum incubator extitit", but he was more probably the father.

[1] St. Armand was the patron saint of Thorigny, sometimes called "St. Amand de Thorigny".

Hamo-a-Dens seems to have had two sons, for Hamo Dapifer is stated by Wm. of Jumièges to be brother of Robert Fitz-Hamon. "Dedit etiam illi [Roberto Comiti Glouc:] rex terram Haimonis dapiferi, patrui videlicet uxoris suæ." Hamo Dapifer, though omitted in the index to the folio *Domesday*, appears as a tenant in chief in the record, holding in Essex fourteen parishes, and as "Haimo Vicecomes" possessing others in Kent and Surrey. Hasted says he was also called "Creve-quer". He was one of the Judges in the great cause between Archbishop Lanfranc and Odo, and died childless in the reign of Henry I. The land thus granted by Henry I to Earl Robert's wife descended to her children and their successors, and thus it was that Dunmow came to the De Clares.[1]

In the list of fees held under the Church of Bayeux, "Robertus filius Hamonis" is entered as holding ten fees of the Honour of Evreux under Bayeux, and he was hereditary standard-bearer to the Blessed Mary of Bayeux, as Earl Robert of Gloucester was after him. Meyrick calls him Earl of Corboile, but the Haymo who was Lord of the Castle of Corboile, died on his way to Rome, during the reign of Hugh Capet, and his son was Theobald, as is related in the life of Earl Burchard, who married his widow.

Though not mentioned in *Domesday*, Fitz-Hamon was probably then in England, for Mr. Ellis has found his name connected with Gloucester, in what he regards as the notes whence that part of the survey was compiled. He was in the confidence of Rufus, and on the eve of the Welsh expedition received from him the Honour of Gloucester, whence, indeed, he drew, as was of course intended, men and means. On the death of Rufus, when Duke Robert landed at Dorchester and advanced in arms from Winchester to meet his brother, he was accompanied by Fitz-Hamon, who succeeded in

[1] The office of Dapifer seems to have been held by the elder Hamo; for, in 1088, Robert, son of Hamo Dapifer, aided Rufus in the siege of Rochester Castle.

negotiating a peace between the brothers. As Seigneur of Thorigny and Creully he was homager of Robert, "Homme de Duc", as it was called, but he seems thenceforward to have adhered to Henry, whom he supported in 1101 against the "Optimates", who supported Robert. In that year the letter written by Henry on his accession, to Anselm, is witnessed by Robert Fitz-Hamon and Hamo Dapifer. In 1105 he was captured during the siege of Bayeux, taking refuge in the Tour de Moustrier de Secqueville, which was burned. Henry, however, obtained his liberation immediately, for "moult il se fioit en Robert Fitz de Hamon". Very soon afterwards, in the same year, he was wounded in the temple at the siege of Caen, of which wound he lingered till 1107, when he died.[1]

The policy pursued towards the Welsh seems to have been severe, since only one Welsh lord occurs in the low country, which was parted between the invaders; the few Welsh, with that one exception, who were allowed to hold considerable estates, being confined to the hills. In settling the lordship, the old Welsh divisions of cantreds and commotes were preserved, and usually the parishes, but by a modification of these divisions the lordship was divided into body and members. The body, the Welsh "Bro", became the shire fee, and was placed under a sheriff; and the members, though extending at points into the lowlands, corresponded for the most part to the "Blaenau". Besides these were the lord's private or demesne lands, the borough towns, and the possessions of the church of Llandaff.

The shire fee or body was settled in accordance with the feudal system in use in Normandy. The private estates became manors, and in many cases also probably new parishes. There were 36 and 3-5ths knights' fees, divided into about twenty-six lordships, held by castle-guard tenure of the Castle of Cardiff, to which

[1] *Chron. de Normandie in Rer. Gall. Script.*, xii, 628; xiii, 206, 248, 250, 251; xv, 64.

the tenants were bound to repair when needed. Besides these there were mesne manors, subinfeudations from the original tenants, holden of them and their castles, also by military service, the whole being held by the chief lord under the sovereign.

The boroughs were six, Cardiff, Cowbridge, Kenfig, Llantrissant, Avan, and Neath. The four first held direct from the lord, and enjoyed the usual liberties and privileges, guaranteed by charter. Neath held originally from de Granville, but came by exchange to the lord. Avan, or Avene, stood out much longer, but, on the extinction of the elder line of Jestyn, that also fell in. Probably these boroughs were wholly of Norman introduction. Caerphilly has been classed with the boroughs, but it does not seem ever to have received a charter, or to have had a governing body. It sprung up at a later period with the castle, and no doubt fell with it into speedy and complete decay.

The members were ten, of which two were subdivided. They were Avan Wallia, Coyty, Glyn Rhondda, Llanblethian, Miscin, Neath citra and ultra, Ruthyn, Senghenydd supra and subter, Talavan, and Tir-y-jarl or the earl's land. Tenure by gavelkind, called in Welsh "Rhan-tir", or partible land, is found about Bridgend and in a part of Monmouthshire. The practice of dividing land equally between sons, and failing sons, between daughters, once common to all English socage tenants, is thought also to have prevailed in Celtic Britain, so that it is just possible that what is found in South Wales may be the remnant of a general usage, though the name of gavelkind is of English importation. The Welsh members of the shire had also their local courts, and their lords the right of "bren-o-ffwl", or pit and gallows, no great concession, as seven of the twelve were in the hands of the chief lord. Each member had its steward or seneschal, who presided at its courts, from which an appeal lay to the shire court at Cardiff.

Although Llandaff was a very ancient ecclesiastical

title, there seems to have been an attempt for a time to make Glamorgan the designation of the see. At Bishop Urban's consecration by Anselm he is called Bishop of Glamorgan, and the same appears in Eadmer. The Bishop, as head of the Church of Llandaff, and lord of that manor, had the prerogatives of a Lord Marcher, but his temporalities were confirmed to him by the chief lord, who claimed to hold possession of the see when vacant, though this right was afterwards challenged by the crown and surrendered. The Bishop held the lordship of Llandaff and the manor of St. Lythan, or Worlton, in the shire.

The lands given by the Welsh princes to the colleges of Llantwit and Llancarvan seem to have been transferred to other foundations; for it is stated in the cartulary of St. Peter's at Gloucester that Fitz-Hamon gave to that House the church of St. Cadoc at Llancarvan, and Penhon, with fifteen hides of land, probably about 1102. Llancarvan is mentioned in a bull of Calixtus in 1119, and of Honorius in 1128; and King Stephen, in confirming lands to Gloucester in 1136, mentions St. Cadoc of Llancarvan and Tregoff, among the gifts of Fitz-Hamon. On the whole, the church in the lordship had no reason to complain of the new lords. The Benedictine Abbeys of Neath and Margam were founded in 1130 and 1147, and their endowments rapidly augmented. Ewenny, as a cell of Gloucester, was founded about the same time, and therefore it is not probable that Fitz-Hamon or his successor confiscated any church lands; and no doubt the local property held by the Abbey of Gloucester, and afterwards by their successors, the Dean and Chapter, represents the old Welsh endowments.

The part played by the Crown in the conquest of Glamorgan has never been clearly defined. Fitz-Hamon certainly received the Honour of Gloucester to enable him to undertake it. It is certain that he did so with the consent of Rufus, and upon the condition that he held the land, as such conquests were elsewhere held,

of the Crown as a Marcher Lordship. What was the precise position of Lords Marchers has not been settled by legal antiquaries. They received no charter defining, establishing, or limiting their ample privileges. No sovereign would have been willing to grant in perpetuity privileges permitted to be assumed under temporary pressure, and the Marchers much preferred that their privileges, if not formally acknowledged to the full, should remain undefined. The privileges were necessary, under the circumstances, but naturally became circumscribed as Wales became settled; and the Crown, which retained the usual feudal rights over these lordships, had, from time to time, during a minority, or upon an escheat, an opportunity of checking encroachments.

Glamorgan was by much the oldest shire in Wales, and one of the very few not included in the Statutum Walliæ of 1280. The statute of Henry VIII also treats it as an old county. In truth, the Lord of Glamorgan was little short of a crowned king. The king's writ did not run in his territory; he had his sheriff, his chancery, his great seal, his courts civil and criminal, rights of admiralty and of wreck, of life and death, an ambulatory council or parliament, *jura regalia*, fines, oblations, escheats, wardships, marriages, and other feudal incidents. Some of his greater tenants held *per baroniam*, others by grand and petit sergeanty, socage, and villenage. He held, *sede vacante*, the temporalities of the bishopric, he was patron of the principal abbeys and of the municipal boroughs, and he himself held *in capite de corona.* In common with other Marcher Lordships Glamorgan had also this in common with an Honour, that, when it was, by an escheat or during a minority, vested in the crown, it did not become merged, or lose its individuality. The personal service due from the military tenants to the lord was not transferred to the crown, but, if they so pleased, could be compounded for in money. Nor were the Marcher privileges mere

assertions. They were regularly exercised, and occasionally pleaded in the king's courts. A plea is preserved in the records of the *Curia Regis*, 8th July 1199, and noted by Palgrave, in which the sheriff of Hereford, when ordered by the king's court to take possession of Bredwardine castle, protests that he cannot do so, it being out of his bailliewick, and Wm. de Braose, the Marcher Lord, declares that neither king, sheriff, nor justice has any right to enter upon his liberty. Also, in 1302, another William de Braose claimed in parliament that in his liberty of Gower he had his chancellor and chancery and seal, the judgment of life and death, and cognizance of all pleas, whether of crown or others, arising in the lordship, between all persons whomsoever. Similar statements are pleaded by the de Clares, Earls of Gloucester, in bar of appeal from their courts to Westminster. Also in a cause reported in the Cotton MS. (*Vitell;* C. x, f. 172[b]), where Richard Syward, 1248, appeals to the Crown against a judgment in the Earl of Gloucester's court in Glamorgan, the Earl demurs to the appeal on the ground that Syward is his vassal, and that the transaction, the cause of the proceedings, was in Glamorgan. He suggests, however, a sort of compromise, a royal commission to report upon the case to the king in person, which was accepted.

No wonder that the great English lords coveted the Welsh lordships. Unproductive in money or pastoral wealth, they were inaccessible, contained excellent soldiers, and by a temporary arrangement with the Welsh leaders a Marcher could at any time securely defy a weak Sovereign.

There is direct evidence for but few of Fitz-Hamon's grants, or even for the names or numbers of his principal followers. There is known but one extant charter by him relating to Wales, and by that he grants the fishery of an arm of the Taff at Cardiff to Tewkesbury Abbey. Other of his charters, relating to other counties, are however extant, and from the witnesses and similar sources the names have been established of a few of his

principal followers, and of several others who it is highly probable were of the number. What makes it probable that the greater number of tenants whose names appear in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century were derived from original settlers, is that most held directly of the lord. Of mesne or subordinate manors there were comparatively few, and those of course may have been created at any time up to the passing of the celebrated statute "*Quia emptores*", which seems to have been acted up to in Glamorgan, whether recognized or not as binding.

The records of Glamorgan for the first century and a half from the Conquest are very scanty indeed, chiefly charters from the lords to their dependants and to the Church, though usually with many local witnesses. Some of Fitz-Hamon's followers seem to have staid but a short time, and, if they received grants of land, to have disposed of it, and in consequence they have escaped notice altogether; but even of the greater lords, who founded local families, the origin and early descent has hitherto been involved in much obscurity.

Under the feudal system the relations between the crown and its tenants in chief, and between these and their subtenants, were very intimate; the crown perpetually claiming services or their redemption in money, the tenants resisting, and all parties appealing to grants and charters, extents or surveys, remissions or exceptions for and against the claims of wardship, livery, relief, scutage, escheat and the like, all which were set down with an accuracy well befitting transactions relating to property.

Relations similar to these in substance, but modified by the delegated powers of the Marcher Lords, subsisted also in Wales. Each Marcher, while holding in chief from the Crown, was himself in many respects a sovereign in his relations to his own tenants and their sub-tenants. Every manor in the March was held mediately or immediately of a Lord Marcher, and its mesne lord paid his reliefs, wardships, scutage, and

wardsilver; and each had its customs, exemptions, payments and quittances recorded in the chancery, which it was the prerogative of every Marcher to hold, attached to the court of his *Caput Baroniæ*, which took cognisance, in the first instance or by appeal, of every cause, civil or criminal, arising within its bounds. There must, therefore, have been accumulated in the several chanceries a mass of records similar to those which, from the other parts of the kingdom, were preserved in the royal courts and the exchequer.

What then has become of these records, which were, in fact, the early title deeds of the Welsh estates? It is scarcely surprising that the records even of the most powerful private families in Wales should have been destroyed, so frequent were the incursions and retaliations of the two parties, who, of course, burned and destroyed everything within their reach; but this does not apply in the same degree to the records of the Marchers, whose castles were strong and well garrisoned, and in many cases, as at Chepstow, Ludlow, and Shrewsbury, scarcely at all exposed to be taken and sacked. Cardiff indeed was once or twice in the hands of the Welsh; and Glendowr, who was its last invader during its existence as a Marcher Lordship, is supposed to have destroyed all he found, which may perhaps account for the disappearance of the earlier records; but even then there must have been many of a later date, accumulated under the Beauchamps and Nevilles, and Jasper Tudor; and these also are lost. The lordship then reverted to the Crown, and as Edward VI and Elizabeth, while selling the lands, retained the seigniorial powers, it might be expected that their officers would take charge of the records of the chancery. Certainly there are very few in private hands, and it is understood that neither at Badminton, nor Wilton, nor at Cardiff, are there any documents relating to the seigniory of Glamorgan, or any relating to Glamorgan, of earlier date than the entrance of the Herberts into that seigniory.

Some have suggested that when the Marcherships were abolished or vested in the Crown, and the government of Wales was administered by the Council at Ludlow, the records were all transferred thither, and perished in the subsequent civil wars; others suppose them to have been removed to the repositories in London, and still to slumber unknown in that vast and long neglected though valuable collection, a theory which recent research renders scarcely tenable. The subject of the disappearance of the South-Welsh records is one of considerable interest, and it is to be hoped that it will be investigated by one of the able antiquaries on the staff of the Record Office, since none other could direct the necessary researches.

Fortunately for posterity, although the records of the transactions of the Marcher Lords with their tenants, of the Mareschals and De Clares, the Mortimers, Montgomerys, Newmarchs, Bellomonts, Braoses, Bohuns and Hastings'; with their knights and military dependents, are lost, a better lot has attended the records of their transactions with the Crown; and the inquisitions taken upon their deaths or escheats, and the detail of their feudal services, are in great measure preserved.

Also, it has fortunately happened that the Marcher Lords, from their detached position and great military power, were frequently tempted into rebellion, and their estates suffered forfeiture or escheat; then, or during a minority, the Crown stepped in and seized upon or administered the lordship, and when this occurred the dues were usually paid to the officers of the Crown, and the transactions were recorded in the records of the realm, and are preserved. Thus the Honours of Gloucester and Brecknock were in the hands of Henry I and Stephen. Richard and John both held the Honour of Gloucester, and the *compotus roll* returned by their officer gives much information as to the internal state of Glamorgan at that remote period, which would otherwise have been lost.

There is also another source, both copious and accurate, of which little heed has hitherto been taken, but which throws considerable light upon the names and origin of the followers of Fitz-Hamon into Glamorgan. It appears that almost all who joined in the conquest, or settled in the conquered territory, came from the Honour of Gloucester, and were therefore connected with one or other of the shires of Gloucester, Somerset, Devon, Dorset, or Wilts; and as they were either landowners, or the cadets of landowners, in those counties, their names occur in the local records, which not unfrequently explain various particulars as to their descent and connections.

Of the leading settlers, whose names occur in such records as exist in Glamorgan, some certainly contemporary with Fitz-Hamon, others who, or whose fathers, may, many of them, be really of that date, de Granville held lands at Bideford, Turberville at Bere-Turberville, St. Quintin at Frome-St.-Quintin, Umfraville at Down-Umfraville, Halwey at Combe-Halwey or Hawey, Reigny at Esse and Culm-Reigny, Bawdrip at Bawdrip, Cogan at Huntspill, Bonvile at Bonvileston in Devon; while Barry, Bawcen, Butler, Corbet, Dennis, Fleming, Joel, Le Sore, Luvel, Maisy, Norris, Payn, Sandford, Scurlage, Sturmy, St. John, Valognes, Walsh, and scores of others, occur in various parts of the Honour, and are found in either the eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth century in Glamorgan.

Many of the settlers reversed the usual practice in England, and, as in Ireland, gave to their lands their own names; sometimes, it may be, because they found the Welsh name hard to pronounce; more frequently because their castles and the limits of their estates were altogether new. Thus Barry, Bonvileston, Flemingston, Colwinston, Constantineston or Coston, Gileston, Laleston, Nicholaston, Marcross, Sully, all names of parishes, were evidently taken from their lords, and possibly were carved out of earlier Welsh parishes, which were usually very large indeed. St.

George's, and several other parishes taking name from English saints, are no doubt of the same class. There are also many private estates, sometimes manors, but not parishes, bearing the names of the intruding owners. Such are Cantelupeston, Maes-Syward, Odinsfee, Sigginston, Samonston, Picketston, Lloyn-y-Grant, Beganston, Sturmy-Down, Walterston, and the like.

Fitz-Hamon, though certainly a severe conqueror, probably, like the greater conqueror under whom he had served, did not disturb the Welsh more than was necessary for his own security, though that, no doubt, is admitting a good deal. Einion and other Welsh lords were permitted to retain large tracts on the hills; and of four of the sons of Jestyn, the eldest was allowed to hold a member-lordship in the low country on at least equal terms with the greatest of the Normans. The position held by the descendants of Caradoc ap Jestyn is unlike any retained in England by men of pure Saxon descent. They built a castle on the Avan, established under its protection a chartered borough town, were large benefactors to Neath and Margam, two Norman Abbeys, burying at the latter, and, as their seals show, used armorial bearings and armour like the Normans. With all this they continued for four generations to bear Welsh names, and to sympathise with the Welsh people; for which they were sometimes summoned to do personal homage to the king, and sometimes called upon to give hostages for their conduct. It was Morgan ap Caradoc who, in 1188, convoyed Archbishop Baldwin across the treacherous sands of Avan and Neath, on his way to Swansea. Morgan Gam, his successor, was shut up in an English prison by the Earl of Gloucester, and in reprisal he burned the Earl's grange at Kenfig. Their original tenure, like that of the other Welsh lords, was without any definite service, but they acquired a commote held by sergeanty, adopted Avene as a sirname, intermarried with the Norman families, added the great lordship of

Cilvae and the manors of Sully and Eglwys-Brewis to their possessions, and finally, in the eighth descent, ended in an heiress, who married Sir William Blount, and exchanged her lands for others in England. To another son of Jestyn was allotted the lordship of Ruthyn; to another, Rees, the lands of Solven, called thence "Rees-Solven".

Fitz-Hamon's personal share in the conquered land is said to have included the towns of Cardiff, Cowbridge, and Kenfig, the Castles of Cardiff and Kenfig, the shire fee or body of the lordship, and as demesne lands Miscin, Glyn Rhondda, Tir-y-Iarl, and Boverton or Llantwit.

Of the Norman settlers there were six, unquestionably contemporary with Fitz-Hamon, whose power was far more considerable than that of the others. These were de Granville, de Turberville, de Londres, Syward, St. Quentin, Umfravile and Sully. Richard de Granville is reported to have been Fitz-Hamon's brother, and there certainly occurs a Ricardus filius Hamonis in 1096 as a baron, etc., with possessions in Normandy (*Rerum Gall.*, scrip. xiv, 146). He, or his son, founded Neath Abbey, in 1129, attaching it to the House of Savigny in Normandy, and retired to Bideford, where they became the progenitors of one of the great families of the West, achieving high military and naval fame, and not unknown in literature.

Pagan de Turberville had Coyty, much celebrated in bardic story as the seat of a royal lineage. He, or his son, strengthened their position by marrying the dispossessed Welsh heiress. The family always showed Welsh sympathies, and continued to hold a very high rank in the county until the fifteenth century, when the main line failed, as the cadet lines have since also failed, so that there remains now but the echo of this very considerable name.

St. Quintin settled at Llanblethian, but they have left no special tradition or mark in the county, from which before 1249 the family was gone, and Syward

held their fees. Probably they resided mainly elsewhere. Their heiress, no doubt, though the actual pedigree is not preserved, was the lady whose blood, mingled with that of Fitz-Hugh and of Marmion, centred in Parr of Kendal, and now flows in the veins of the Herberts of Wilton.

Syward had the lordship and castle of Talavan, and the sub-manor of Merthyr Mawr, and, before his fall, in 1249, the castle of Llanblethian. He was one of a turbulent race, alternately useful and injurious to their lords, and remembered as having carried on a plea against Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, into which largely entered the very curious legal question, how far an appeal lay from the Earl Marcher's court to that of the King at Westminster.

Of these lords, de Granville, de Turberville, St. Quintin and Syward, held member-lordships, with powers of life and death and other Marcher privileges.

De Londres, probably more powerful than any of the others, held the lordship of Ogmore with the sub-manor of Dunraven. The family territory was, however, mostly in Caermarthenshire, where they held the great lordship of Carnwilthion, of which Kidwelly was the chief seat. They built Ogmore castle, but mostly resided at Kidwelly. William de Londres and Maurice, his son, were the founders of Ewenny Priory. The heiress of de Londres married de Cadurcis or Chaworth, and their heiress, Henry Earl of Lancaster. The lordship of Ogmore has never had a resident lord, but on the other hand it has been held together, and is now a part of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The other considerable settlers were Umfravile and Sully. Umfravile is stated by genealogists to have been the head of that family, cadets of which settled at Prudhoe, and became Earls of Angus. The connection seems probable, for the Glamorgan Umfraviles sealed with a hexapetalous flower, which also forms a part of the Angus coat. They built Penmark castle, and there is some reason to suppose that the St. Johns,

who married their heiress, held Fonmon manor under them. Somery, of Dinas Powis, ought perhaps to be added to the above "Barones majores", since they were Barons of Dudley castle, and held their Glamorgan fees for some centuries; but they do not seem to have taken a very active part in local affairs.

The earliest inquisition extant of the Lordship of Glamorgan was probably taken in 1262, on the accession of Earl Gilbert de Clare, and therefore one hundred and seventy years or so after the conquest. This gives a list of all the holders of lay fees, who held *in capite* of the lord, and the service due from each. The table is most interesting, and has only lately been discovered.

The names and holdings are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| G. Turberville in Newcastle | $\frac{1}{40}$ fee. | Constantine in Lanmaes | $\frac{1}{3}$ fee. |
| Nerberd in Lancovian | $\frac{1}{4}$ " | de Gloucestria in Wrenchester | $\frac{1}{2}$ " |
| Sandford in Leckwith | $\frac{1}{4}$ " | de Kaerdiff in Lanirid | $\frac{1}{2}$ " |
| Scurlag in Llanharry | $\frac{1}{4}$ " | Clifford in Kenfeis | $\frac{1}{2}$ " |
| H. Sully in Pentyrch | $\frac{1}{4}$ " | Basset in St. Hilary | $\frac{1}{2}$ " |
| Pireton in Nova-Villa | $\frac{1}{4}$ " | Sully in Lanmaes | $\frac{2}{3}$ " |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Butler in Marcross | 1 fee. | Le Sore in St. Fagans | 1 fee. |
| Constantine in Coston | 1 " | Walsh in Landoch | 1 " |
| Hawey in St. Donats | 1 " | de Wincestria in Landan | 1 " |
| Norris in Penllyne | 1 " | Mayloc in Capella | 1 " |
| Syward in Merthyr-Mawr | 1 " | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cogan in Cogan | 2 fees. | Nerberd in Abron Thawe | 4 fees. |
| Somery in Dinas Powis | $2\frac{1}{2}$ " | Sully in Sully and Wenvoe | 4 " |
| Corbet in St. Nicholas | 3 " | Umfrevile in Penmark | 4 " |
| De Londres in Ogmore | 4 " | | |

The abbot of Margam held Langewy, probably a lay fee, but no service is named. Turberville held Coyty *per baroniam*, also described as grand sergeanty. Of the Welsh lords, Morgan Vachan (of Avan) held in Baglan half a commote by Welshery; no service, but a horse and arms at the death of the tenant, the old form of heriot. Two sons of Morgan ap Cadewalthan held half a commote in Glyn Rhondda; no service. Griffith ap Rees held two commotes, an immense hold-

ing, in Senghenydd: he was the ancestor of Lewis of Van; no service. Morediht ap Griffith held one commote in Machheir, probably Miscin; no service. De Granville's lordship is not mentioned, it having lapsed to the chief lord, as probably had those of Syward and St. Quintin. Marcross had been succeeded by de Pincerna or Butler. Berkerolles had not yet given place to Nerberd, nor Stradling to Hawey. Fleming probably had not arrived, and Bawdrip was then only a burgess of Cardiff. St. John of Fonmon and Butler of Dunraven are not named. The latter certainly was a subtenant, and possibly this was so with St. John. Probably for the same reason, as not holding *in capite*, are omitted Joel, Odin, Barry, and Bonvile, though they appear as inquisitors. It is to be observed also that in these inquisitions the jurors at Cardiff are all English. At Llantrissent and at Llangonydd all are Welsh. At Neath only three of the twelve are English. This shows how largely the Welsh element prevailed, and how completely the Welsh were trusted with the ordinary duties of free-tenants. The next extant survey of the shire was taken in 1320, about sixty years later, and in that time considerable changes had taken place. The knights' fees are still numbered at 36 and a fraction; but of the former tenants there remain the names but of ten—the Abbot, Basset, Corbet, Mayloc, Nerber, Norris, Turberville, Umfravile, Walsh, and de Winton; and of these there remained, in the reign of Elizabeth, but two—Basset, and a cadet of Turberville.

The proximity of Strongbow's estates and castle of Chepstow, and the passage of the road thence to Milford across Glamorgan, seem to have led many of the settlers to a further adventure in Ireland, where we find such names as Barry, Cogan, Basset, Cadoc, Bonville, Fleming, Kenfig, Lamays, Landochan, Norris, London, Penrice, Swaynsey, Siward, Sandford, Newton, Scurlock, Walsh, and a great number of Welshmen designated by a christian name, and as of Cardiff.

The position of the English in Wales during the two

centuries following the conquest, in fact until the reduction of the Principality by Edward I, was such as to make a castle a necessity; so much so, that there is no trace of a *licentia crenellare* having been thought necessary under the Marcher rule, though the Marcher Lord of Whittington in Salop had such a licence from Henry III. Every landowner's house was literally his castle. In parts of Glamorgan they stood so close that it is difficult to understand whence their owners derived their revenues. For example, within a radius of six miles from Barry, half the circle being occupied by the sea, were twelve castles; and in the county, and mainly in its southern part, were from thirty to forty, of which but one, Aberavan, belonged to a Welsh Lord. Most of these castles were the residences of private persons, and were built for the defence of the estate and its tenants; others, the property of the chief Lord, were constructed for the defence of the country, and were so placed as to command the passes by which the Welsh were accustomed to descend upon the plain. The sites of most of the Glamorgan castles are known, and of many of them the ruins remain, though they rarely contain masonry of an earlier date than the reign of Henry III. Cardiff, however, boasts a shell keep of Norman date, as is probably its immense outer wall, attributed to Robert Earl of Gloucester. The annals of Margam attribute the building of the town of Cardiff to the previous reign, but Cardiff is certainly a much older place, and probably was founded when the Roman road was laid out, to guard the passage of the River Taff. The earthworks of the Castle were originally rectangular, and probably the work of the Romanised Britons, on the withdrawal of the Legions. The mound, like that of Caerleon, is certainly the work of later invaders from England. Ogmore has a square keep of undoubted Norman pattern, doubtless the work of the first or second de Londres; and at Penllyne are fragments of a similar keep, containing some curious, and it may be, early, herring-bone work, and possibly

Earl Robert's work, and so a little earlier than even Robert Norris, who seems to have been the first, or a very early, grantee. At Newcastle by Bridgend are the gateway and the original wall of a castle, certainly early, because it gives name to the parish, and the masonry of which is evidently of Norman date and very peculiar in the pattern of its mouldings. Here, as generally in the Norman buildings in Glamorgan, Sutton stone is employed. It is uncertain by whom Newcastle was built. The name of Oldcastle is preserved in the adjacent town of Bridgend, though where it precisely was, or what it was, is not known.

Of Early English castles the rectangular keep at Fonmon, still inhabited, is the best, and indeed the only tolerably perfect example. The base of the tower of Whitchurch is in that style, as is part of Coyty; and in the foundations of Sully Castle, opened some years ago, were Early English fragments. Also, in the centre of the later house of Dunraven, some masonry of Early English aspect is walled in, and is probably part of the castle of Arnold Butler.

During the troubled reign of Henry III, a great age for castle building in Wales, many strong places in Glamorgan seem to have been renewed. Castell Coch and Caerphilly were then built; and to that reign or that of Edward I are due the fine gateways at Neath and Llanblethian, a smaller one at Barry, parts of Cardiff and Morlais, the ancient wall of St. Fagans, and probably the fragment at Llantrissant. The gate house of the old episcopal palace at Llandaff is excellent Decorated. Those of Pencoed and Castleton are apparently later. The central building at Cardiff and the polygonal tower, now, alas! dwarfed and buried under modern additions, were the work of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, the builder of a similar but far grander tower at that castle. St. Donats, the most complete castle in South Wales, is very late, as is much of Coyty. Besides these, of doubtful date are Dinas Powis, the fragments of St. George's and Peterston,

parts of Kenfig, Penmark, and Castleton, the ditches and a few fragments of Talavan and Bonvileston, and the foundations of Llanquian. Avan, Wenvoe, and Wrinston are utterly gone. At Van, Beauprè, Cogan-Pill, Cardiff, Cadoxton, West Orchard, Aberthin, Llanveithin, Llanvihangel, Llantrithyd, Pencoed, Caerwiggau, Sutton, and Llancayach are ancient houses, some very perfect. Carnllwyd is excellent Decorated, as is Cantleston and part of Flimston, where the court has an embattled wall. At Castell-y-Mynach are remains of the Hall, and in the walls of the Manorial House of Talygarn, lately recast, were found windows of the time of Henry V.

Many of the churches, and notably the cathedral, contain Norman work; and in others, where the church has been rebuilt, the font and the holy water stoop, on a stunted column, are of that date. Throughout the lordship most churchyards retain the polygonal stepped base of a cross, and of some such crosses the shaft is preserved, and of one or two the actual carved stone which formed the apex, and represented the crucifixion. In the churchyard of St. Donats is one of these crosses of remarkable elegance. It has been copied at Llandaff, but in dimensions, and placed in a position, entirely fatal to its effect. There also remain a few of the upright shafts of crosses of an earlier date, carved in bold basket work patterns, and usually set upright in the ground without base or pedestal. Time, neglect, and the labours, not uncalled for, of the diocesan architect are annually bringing about the destruction of these remains and, what is, archæologically, much the same thing, the restoration of the ancient edifices.

The gentry and yeomanry of the lordship, that is, those who have any real claim to antiquity of descent, are still divided into the pure Welsh and the descendants of the Norman settlers. The genealogies of these settlers, "Advenæ" as they are styled in the local pedigree books, are scarcely so well preserved as those of the corresponding class in England, but their estates

have usually been known, and their possession of a surname gives a facility for tracing their descent which does not extend to the natives. The Welsh genealogies pretend to far higher antiquity, and are recorded with much greater fulness of detail. Unfortunately their compilers—it were discourteous, perhaps unjust, to say their authors—seldom condescend to mention the place of residence of the families, or to introduce a date. These omissions—the absence of surnames—and the very limited number of Christian names in use, and their frequent repetition in the same family, not to mention the frequent introduction of a train of natural children, and the names and pedigrees of their mothers, reduce an English genealogist to despair. "Oh!" said a late Garter, indicating the genealogical MSS. left to the College of Arms by Sir Isaac Heard, "Oh! those are Welsh pedigrees; we have nothing to say to them." In truth the Welsh counties were seldom, if ever, included in the Visitations of the English Heralds.

And yet these Welsh genealogies are really extremely curious, and for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries probably fairly true. To what extent the Welsh bards preserved private pedigrees is unknown, but, no doubt, Welsh genealogy received a great impulse on the accession of the House of Tudor, and in consequence of the inquiries set on foot by Henry VII, and by the Herberts. Still the extant manuscripts, of which there are many, are rarely, if ever, older than the reign of Elizabeth, and more generally, date from those of the 1st James and Charles. Looking to the genealogies of Glamorgan, what is most remarkable is the small number of stocks whence the native families are said to be derived. These are mainly five only; Jestyn ap Gwrgan, Einion ap Collwyn, Bleddyn ap Maenarch, Gwilim ap Jenkyn, Llewelyn ap Ivor, and Gwaethvoed. From these are deduced from three to four hundred distinct families. Roughly, it may be stated, from Caradoc ap Jestyn, 26; from Rhys, 12; from Madoc, 30; and from Griffith ap Jestyn, 3. Einion ap Collwyn, notwithstanding the stigma at-

tached to his name, is recorded as the ancestor of 99 families; Bleddyn ap Maenarch of 46, besides those pertaining to Brecknock; Gwilim ap Jenkyn, 74; Llewelyn ap Ivor, 23; and Cydrich and Aidan ap Gwaethvoed, 21 and 50. Besides these were a few others, families of no great note, whose remote ancestor is not recorded, and who chiefly inhabited the hill country north of Bridgend and Margam.

Of the descendants of the above patriarchs, among the best known were, from Caradoc, Avan of Avan, Evans of Gnoll and Eagle's Bush, Pryce of Briton Ferry, Williams of Blaen-Baglan, Thomas of Bettws, and Loughor of Tythegston. From Rhys ap Jestyn came Williams of Duffryn-Clydach, Penry of Reeding, and Llewelyn of Ynis-y-Gerwn. From Madoc ap Jestyn, Llewelyn of Caerwiggau, and the numerous descendants of Ievan Mady. From Einion sprang Gibbon of Trecastle, Prichard of Collenna, Price of Glyn Nedd, Prichard of Ynis Arwed, Powell of Loydarth, Energlyn, Maesteg, and Baydon, Cradock of Swansea and of Cheriton, and Powell of Llandow. Bleddyn ap Maenarch was the forefather of Jenkins of Hensol, Griffith Gwyr, Penry of Lanedi, Williams of Bettws, Llewelyn of Ynis Simoon, Evans of Cilvae, Jones of Fonmon, Price of Penllergaer, Gethyn of Glyn Tawe, Bowen of Court House and Kittle, Powell of Swansea and Seys of Boverton. Of all these the only known descendants in the legitimate male line are Evans of Eagle's Bush, Prichard of Collenna, and Jones of Fonmon.

From Gwilim ap Jenkyn sprang the very copious race of Herbert, of whom about seventy-four distinct branches may be traced, very many settled in Glamorgan under various names, of whom were Raglan of Carnllwydd, Gwyn of Llansannor, Thomas of Llanvihangel and Pwllyvrach, Herbert of Cardiff, of Cogan, and of Cilybebill.

Llewelyn ap Ivor was of Tredegar, whence came a number of families, almost all bearing the name of

Morgan, of whom were those of Coed-y-Gores, Penllwynsarth, Rubina, Ruperra, and Cilfynydd.

Gwaethvoed was the fruitful stock of Mathew of Llandaff, with about twenty-three cadet branches, of which the most conspicuous were those of Radir, Aberaman, Castell-y-Mynach, St-y-Nill, Maes Mawr, and Miros. These came from Aidan. From Gweristan ap Gwaethfoed came Thomas of Blaenbradach, a house unusually bare of cadet branches; and from Cydrich ap Gwaethvoed the immensely numerous family of Lewis of Van, of whom may be mentioned Williams otherwise Cromwell, Prichard of Llancayach, and the Lewises of Cilvach-Vargoed, Penmark, Lystalybont, Glyn Taff, Llanishen, Newhouse, and Greenmeadow or Pantwynlas, besides a flourishing branch in the United States represented by Mr. W. F. Lewis of Philadelphia. The elder branch, but in the female line only, is represented by Lord Windsor, the owner of Van. Of the strangers from England there remains extant in unbroken male descent, one only, Basset of Bonvileston, whose ancestor came in about the time of Richard I. Of the original Welsh families in male descent there remain two only, Lewis of Pantwynlas, and Thomas of Blaenbradach.

It is to be regretted that these Welsh genealogies have not received a critical examination. It is true that they are without dates, and present but few of the points by which an English pedigree can be checked and proved; but allowance must be made for the habits of the people, who had little idea of the accuracy derived from records. Here and there, where a name occurs in the county records, as in the Fine and Docket book of the great Sessions, or where a will has been preserved in the Llandaff registry, they can be proved to be correct. For the rest it may be said that they seem probable enough; the number of descents given through the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries is not, on the face of it, fabulous; and in the various manuscripts there is neither enough coincidence

to indicate collusion, nor sufficient difference to destroy all belief. Unfortunately, neither Sir T. Phillipps nor Sir S. Meyrick, though they printed collections of genealogies, knew or cared enough about the matter to edit them; that is, to collate and compare the several versions, and to seek and import such collateral evidence as might be found.

There is no other part of the kingdom in which so marked a line still remains drawn between the residents of pure British descent and the settlers from England, even after centuries of residence, much intermarriage, and no difference of religion. What is at this time in progress, the opening up of the coal field, and the construction of docks and railways, is doing much to break up the peculiarities of the county. The limits of manors are no longer preserved. Manor courts are rarely held; copyholds are becoming enfranchised; chief rents abolished by mutual consent and composition. On the other hand, though the "Jura regalia" and Marcher prerogatives were withheld from the ancestors of the present owner of Cardiff Castle, his rights of common and to minerals have been preserved, and constitute a very valuable property.

# THE CHIEF LORDS.

## EARLS ROBERT AND WILLIAM OF GLOUCESTER.

---

Robert Fitz-Hamon, of whom and his conquest something has already been said, married Sybil, a daughter of Roger de Montgomery, and sister to Robert de Belesme, and by her had four daughters. At the instance of his wife he endowed the old Mercian foundation of Tewkesbury, founded in 715, and of which Brichtric had been the patron; and this so liberally that he was ever regarded as the real founder. He found it subject to Cranbourn in Dorset, but reversed their relative position by the removal of the Cranbourn Priory to the new establishment, of which it was continued as a cell only. The new Tewkesbury was founded in 1102, and was confirmed by William Rufus in a charter of which Fitz-Hamon was one of the witnesses, as he was also of that king's charters to St. Peter's, Bath, and to the church of Lincoln, both preserved among the public records. Robert's charter was again confirmed by Henry I, Robert and his brother Hamon being witnesses; and the same king granted a second charter after Robert's death, in which he inserted a donation for the weal of his friend's soul. This is the charter in which is mentioned the parish church of St. Mary at Cardiff, and the chapel of the castle there. Sybil occurs in the foundation charter of Neath Abbey, on the Calends of October 1159, and, with her husband, in his charter to Abingdon. In 1101 Fitz-Hamon witnessed the charter known as the "Institutiones Henrici regis"; at least his name occurs in the Worcestershire version. In what is supposed to be the only extant charter by Fitz-Hamon relating to

Cardiff, he gives to the monks of Tewkesbury an arm of the Taff at Cardiff for a fishery, and the donation is witnessed by his wife. As early as 1064 his name appears in Normandy, in the Bayeux Charters, and again in 1074.

Robert built the tower and much of the existing church of Tewkesbury, dedicating it to St. Mary, by the hands of the Bishop of Worcester, 23 October 1123. Gerald d'Avranches was the first abbot. Among the endowments were St. Mary's church, the castle chapel, and lands and tithes in Cardiff; a fishery, meadow, and village on the Taff; and the tithes held by Fitz-Hamon's barons in Wales. To St. Peter's at Gloucester he gave the church of St. Cadoc in Llancarvan, with Treyguff; gifts confirmed by Stephen in 1158. He gave also fifteen hides of land in Penhon or Penon. Among Fitz-Hamon's wide possessions occurs the manor of Kyme, near Boston, now conspicuous for its ancient brick tower, which manor was held by Ralph de Kyme, and afterwards under the Earls of Gloucester by Philip, and, 11th of John, by Simon de Kyme.—(*Abb. Plac.*, 65.)

Fitz-Hamon was faithful to Henry as he had been to Rufus. His last public appearance was at the battle of Tinchbrai, 28 September 1106, where a spear wound in his temple reduced him to imbecility, in which condition he died in the following year, March 1107. Malmesbury says, "Hebetatusque ingenio non pauco tempore quasi captus mente supervixit." He had been taken prisoner in 1105, and Henry, to release him, had burned the town of Bayeux and its principal church. Heavy offences, "Sed utrique, ut speramus, purgabile fuit." His body was laid in the chapter house at Tewkesbury, whence it was translated to the presbytery of the church by Abbot Robert in 1240-1, and over it, in 1397, a chapel or oratory was constructed by Parker, the eighteenth abbot. His descendants, Lords of Glamorgan, were always recognised as patrons of the abbey, and exercised the usual rights on the election of each new abbot. It was also the burial place of the de Clares and le Despensers.

The inheritance was not at that time thought to be so large as to be dangerous to the peace of the kingdom, and to require to be divided. Henry, moreover, had his own views concerning it. Of the daughters, Cicely and Hawise became Abbesses of Shaftesbury and Wilton. Amice is said to have married the Earl of Bretagne, but seems to have died early and childless. Mabel, called Sybil by William of Jumieges, was regarded as the sole heiress and treated accordingly. She was the great match of her day, inheriting the Honour of Gloucester and the Lordship of Glamorgan, her father's other lands, and those of her uncle, Hamo Dapifer,[1] in England and Normandy. The latter possessions included Thorigny, on the borders of Bayeux and Coutances, two miles from the boundary stream of La Vire. Here, at a later period, her husband built a large and strong castle.

It has been stated that Henry revived his mother's claim to Brichtric's ancient Honour, and it has been supposed, but on weak authority, that most of the lands were male fiefs, and as such would revert to the Crown. Probably, however, Henry was content with the wardship of the lands and the "maritagium" of the heiress, and allowed them to vest in her. Certain it is that Mabel exercised rights of ownership, both during her married life and her widowhood.

The husband selected for Mabel was the eldest of Henry's natural sons, by name Robert, and distinguished, probably from his birth-place, as Robert of Caen. The general belief has long been that his mother was Nest, a daughter of Rhys of Twdwr, who certainly lived with the king for some time, and who had from her father the Lordship of Caerau or Carew

[1] This statement, which there seems no reason to doubt, assumes that Hamo died, at the latest, soon after his niece's marriage, but a "Hamo dapifer" witnessed a precept by Henry I concerning Savigny Abbey in 1112, and a charter by Hugh Wade in 1168, and other documents in Normandy. He is called "Dapifer" or "Pincerna", indifferently. Who was he?

in Pembrokeshire, and by her husband, Gerald de Windsor, was ancestress of that family, who derived their surname from their office of Castellan of Windsor Castle. Lappenberg, who accepts Nest as Robert's mother, thus accounts for the number of Welsh who followed him to the battle of Lincoln, and Palgrave rests upon it a circumstantial narrative, but there is no evidence for the fact, which moreover was not accepted by Dugdale.

The dates of Robert's birth and marriage are unrecorded, and can only be inferred. He was certainly born before his father's accession in 1100, and he seems to have been the eldest of Henry's many natural children. Henry himself was born in 1068. Robert's daughter was married to the Earl of Chester shortly before the battle of Lincoln in 1141, but as women were then married early, this proves little. In 1140, according to the *Gesta Stephani*, after the capture of the Devizes, Robert's son was sent to share the custody of the castle. About 1142, Philip, another son, is spoken of as taking an active part on his father's side, and he was married to a niece or granddaughter of Roger de Berkeley. Supposing Philip born about 1120, and not the eldest son, it seems possible that Robert may have married as early as 1116-17, or even a few years earlier.[1] Such is the conclusion of Mr. Floyd, who has worked out the point with his usual sagacity. This would give the administration of the estates to the Crown for about ten years. If the marriage took place in 1117, the lady, Fitz-Hamon's eldest daughter, could not have been less than fourteen, and was probably nearer twenty. Henry was no doubt well aware of the great abilities of his son, and thought him a safe man to wield so great and peculiar a power.

The wooing was conducted by the King in person, and, if faithfully related by Robert of Gloucester, gives a high notion of the lady's good sense :—

[1] In 1148 he witnessed a Charter by Henry I to Savigny, as "Robertus filius regis."—*Gall. Christ.*, xi, 112.

> "The kynge of soghte hyre sayth ynon, so that atten end
> Mabyle hym answerde . . ."

She told him his wooing was more for what she had than for herself, and that with such an heritage she ought not to marry a lover unless he had two names, that is, a Christian name and a surname, and that as Fitz-Hamon's daughter she could ask no less.

> "So vayr erytage, as ych abbe, yt were me gret ssame,
> Vor to abbe an loverd, bote he adde au tuo name."

Henry admits this, and says his son shall be called "Robert le Fitz le Roy," a surname which, however, he does not seem ever to have borne. Then, with an eye to the future, Mabel asks what their son is to be called.

> "Robert Erle of Gloucestre hys name ssal be, and ys,
> Vor he ssal be Erle of Gloucestre, and hys eyrs ywys."

She answers—

> . . . "well lyketh me thys
> In this forme ycholle, that all my thyng be hys.
>
> . . . . .
>
> This was erlene hondred yer, and in the yer eyght.
>
> . . . . .
>
> And of the kynges crounement in the (ninthe) yere
> That the vorst Erle of Gloucestre thus was ymad there
> Robert, that spoused the ryght eyr, King Henry's sone,
> That vor hys gode dede worth, ych wene evere in mone."

Malmesbury says of the Countess—"She was a noble and excellent woman, a lady devoted to her husband, and blest with a numerous and beautiful progeny."

The actual conferring of the title seems to have followed the marriage, and Robert certainly bore it 1119, 20th Henry I. In the chronicles of that period the northern title of Earl is often rendered by the Latin "Consul", and Earl Robert is often called Consul of Gloucester, or "Robert Consul".

During the sixteen or more years that passed between this creation and Henry's death, Robert's chief attention seems to have been given to his Welsh lordship, and whatever Fitz-Hamon may have achieved in subduing

the natives, the real work of organizing and administering the conquest, and providing defences for the conquered territory, seems to have been in a great measure the work of Earl Robert. Fitz-Hamon must necessarily have provoked much personal enmity, and his close attendance upon Rufus, and his large estates in Normandy, probably occupied most of his time during the seventeen years in which he survived his conquest; nor is there any tradition or material trace of any, even military, work in Glamorgan which can be ascribed to him. Earl Robert, on the other hand, was not associated with any of the acts of violence connected with the conquest, and his royal connection, vast power, and the great moderation of his character, were all calculated to lead the Welsh to submit to his rule. He allowed the men in the hills to retain unmolested their "Moes-y-Devod", or local customs, to which they were attached. The sons of Jestyn were confirmed in their possessions, as was Cynfrig, whose two descendants, Ievan David ap Llewelyn Vachan, and Morgan Llewelyn ap Ievan Mady, were the patriarchs of the numerous families who dwelt in Miscin. The Welsh Lord of Senghenydd was allowed to retain his patrimony, and with it a power, which in the next generation became troublesome. On the whole, the Welsh of Morganwg seem to have accepted the inevitable, and to have respected the lord's demesne lands and those of his dependents; and that they were, on the whole, peaceable subjects, and that there was a disposition to give them fair play, may be perhaps inferred from the constitution of the local inquests in the succeeding century, when, even in the districts bordering on the hills, the jurors were almost all Welshmen. The conquest was, however, far too recent, and the Welsh spirit far too jealous of control, to allow the lord's authority to rest alone upon an equitable system of government. Earl Robert, who is known to have built Bristol Castle, is reported also to have built that of Cardiff, and the material evidence of the

polygonal keep and of the outer wall is in harmony with this tradition. The castle was certainly a place of great strength, when, in 1126, Duke Robert was removed from the Devizes and placed in charge of the Earl, who lodged him first at Bristol, and very soon afterwards at Cardiff, where he died in 1134, having, it is said, lost his eyesight,—

> "In Cardiff he a captive lay,
> Whose windows were but niggard of their light."

That he was imprisoned in the castle may be assumed, but the keep is the only extant part of it which could then have been standing. The tower which goes by his name, and in which he is said to have died, is certainly later. Earl Robert seems also to have built a castle at Llantrissant, and the accounts of the Lordship in 1184 show that the castles of Newport, Kenfig, and Neath were at that time regularly established fortresses. Penllyne keep, with its herring-bone masonry, is probably a work of Earl Robert's time, although the Norrises do not appear to have held the fief until Robert Norris received it from William, the Earl's successor, whose vicecomes he was. The older remains of the castles of Sully, Fonmon, Castleton, Dunraven, and Ogmore, the seats of the families of Sully, St. John, Nerberd, Butler, and De Londres, point to the same period, as do the walls and gate of the castle of Newcastle, and the oldest part of the Turberville castle of Coyty.

Earl Robert's rule also produced works of a more pacific character. In 1147 he founded the Abbey of Margam and endowed it with lands between Kenfig and the Avan. To de Granville's foundation of Neath Abbey, to which he succeeded as patron, he gave Ponte and Blackscarr. These two foundations, though occasionally attacked by the Welsh, were, on the whole, popular with them, and received from the native lords very large additions to their possessions.

Also, in 1126, he healed a long open sore between

the lords of Glamorgan and their bishops. Besides other concessions, the Earl gave a fishery on the Ely, one hundred acres of cultivable land in the marsh between Taff and Ely, the right to take timber from certain forests for the repairs of the church, and the chapel of Stuntaff or Whitchurch, the parishioners of which he allowed to attend Llandaff at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and to be buried in Llandaff, with other concessions. The Bishop, on his part, agreed to set aside divers complaints he had to make, and so to adjust his sluice that the passage of the river should not be impeded, save in times of flood, from above or below. The jurisdiction of the Bishop's manor court was settled, and it was agreed that ordeals by fire, *judicia ferri*, should be tried at Llandaff, and by water, *fossa judicialis aqua*, on the Bishop's land near Cardiff Castle. Judicial duels between mixed parties were to be fought out in the castle, but those between the Bishop's people only were to be fought at Llandaff. The concord was drawn up before the King with great formality, and among the witnesses are found, besides many Bishops and great nobles, Archdeacon Uchtred, Isaac the Bishop's chaplain, Richard Vicecomes de Kardi, Pagan de Turberville, Rodbert Fitz-Roger, Richard de St. Quintin, Maurice de Londres, Odo Sor, and Gauff: de Maisi.

Earl Robert's attention to his Welsh lordship did not lead him to neglect the interests of his father. He served with Henry at the battle of Brennevile in 1119, and was at the taking of Byton Castle in 1122, and in 1127 was among those who swore in Henry's presence an oath of allegiance to his daughter, a pledge which he amply redeemed, though supposed by some writers to have had an eye himself to the succession.

Neath Abbey was founded about 1129 by Richard de Granville, Fitz-Hamon's chief baron, and probably his near relative. The foundation charter is not dated,

but it runs in the names of Richard de Granville and Constantia his wife, and provides for the weal of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, Mabel his wife, and William their son. Amongst the witnesses were Richard de St. Quintin, Robert de Umfraville, Pagan de Turberville, William Pincerna, and Robert de Granville, all Glamorgan Barons; and the Earl undertook to guard and defend the gifts.

Henry died Dec. 1st, 1135, and, it is stated by Orderic, placed, on his death bed, in the hands of Robert £60,000 for the payment of his household and immediate followers. His death was followed, April 15, 1136, by a rising in South Wales, in which Richard Fitz-Gilbert, son of the conqueror of Cardigan, was slain. The Welsh inburst was severe. Whether they actually recovered Gower from Henry de Bellomont is uncertain, but they destroyed many castles, churches, and houses, and slaughtered both rich and poor. This is the rising that seems to have caused de Granville to retire from Neath to his Devon lordship, leaving his fief in the hands of his chief lord. Giraldus says, after crossing the Nedd "we proceeded towards the River Lochor, through the plain in which Howel ap Meredith of Brecknock, after the death of Henry I, gained a signal victory over the English," and Florence of Worcester mentions a severe battle fought in Gower Jan. 1, 1136, between the Normans and the Welsh, after which the main inroad occurred and Richard Fitz-Gilbert fell. The Welsh occupation of Gower must have rendered De Granville's position on the Nedd one of great danger, and it was probably under this pressure that he retired.

Earl Robert returned to England with Henry's corpse, and probably at that time regarded Matilda's cause as hopeless, for he made terms with Stephen, and gave in his allegiance, though upon conditions which gave to his adhesion a great air of equality. In 1136 his name, as Robert, Earl of Gloucester, appears as a witness to Stephen's Charter *de liberta-*

*tibus*, etc. In 1138 he received from Stephen a confirmation of Fitz-Hamon's gifts to St. Peter's, Gloucester, and those of St. Michael's, Ogmore, and St. Bride's, which a letter of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, Papal Legate in 1139-1148, mentions as proceeding from Maurice de Londres. The Legate's letter relates to a chapel built in Llancarvan parish contrary to the wish of the Abbot of St. Peter's, and in which the Bishop is directed not to allow service to be performed. This letter is enforced by one of a similar character from Archbishop Theobald. According to the Gloucester cartulary, the donations of Maurice, son of William de Londres, were made in 1141, but if the date of Stephen's charter be correct, this must have been a confirmation only. The donations were St. Michael of Ewenny, St. Bride's with the chapel of Ogmore of Lanfey, and the churches of St. Michael's of Colveston (Colwinston), of Oystermouth in Gower, and of Penbrae.

In 1138 Earl Robert built Bristol Castle, a very strong fortress, at the junction of the Frome with the Avon, in a very low marshy district. This castle has long been destroyed, save a crypt. It is said to have had a rectangular keep, which, in such a position, is probable, and of which the well has been recently discovered. The keep was faced with Caen stone. In the following year, late in the summer, the Earl brought over his sister to England, landing at Portsmouth, whence he lodged her at Arundel, the polygonal keep and gatehouse of which had recently been constructed by William d'Albini, who had married Adeliza, the second wife and widow of Henry I. On hearing of the Empress's arrival, Stephen at once broke up the siege of Marlborough and appeared before Arundel. By some accounts, his courtesy was such that he allowed her to retire with her brother to Wallingford, to Brian Fitz-Count, whence she went to Milo, the Constable of England, at Gloucester, and thence, as a very strong retreat, to Bristol. Early in October Earl Robert's preparations were completed, and in

December, while Stephen was attacking Wallingford by means of a great wooden tower or *malvoisin*,[1] he took Worcester, and, in the following April, Nottingham. Stephen in the meantime had attacked and failed before Bristol, and had ravaged a part of the Honour of Gloucester, in Somerset. In 1141 Robert lodged some of his English hostages with the Count of Anjou, Matilda's husband; and in the same year he fought the battle of Lincoln, having led into the field a large body of Welshmen, this being probably the first time that the Norman Lord of Glamorgan had been so supported. Stephen, there taken captive, was sent to Bristol Castle, and soon afterwards, at Oxford, Matilda created Milo of Gloucester Earl of Hereford, Earl Robert attesting the creation. In this year Maurice de Londres granted St. Michael's Church at Ewenny to Gloucester, with St. Bride's Lanfey, Oystermouth, and the chapels of Ogmore and St. Michael of Colveston.

These successes led to conduct injurious to the character and cause of the Empress, who disgusted her supporters, and in consequence had to flee to Winchester, where she held the royal castle at one end of the city, and laid siege to the bishop in his castle of Wolvesey at the other. Here, before long, she was blockaded by Stephen's friends, and between them and the bishop was so pressed, that she escaped, it is said, in a coffin, and reached Gloucester, while Earl Robert, covering her flight, was taken and committed to the castle at Rochester, whence he was speedily exchanged for Stephen. The war was continued; the Earl frustrated Stephen's attempts upon Wallingford, then one of the strongest places in the south of England, as indeed its extant earthworks still testify, and he also hovered over Stephen's march to Winchester, and much impeded his movements.

The Earl next revisited the continent and brought

[1] Sometimes, however, as at the siege of Bamborough, the *malvoisin* seems to have been an earthwork.

over Geoffrey Plantagenet, landing at Wareham, where with some difficulty and delay he took the castle. In 1143, July 1, he attacked Stephen at Wilton and drove him out, and Count Geoffrey returned to Anjou, taking with him Henry, the future king.

In 1145, died Richard the first Abbot of Neath. In 1146, Bishop Uchtred of Llandaff relates in a charter how in this year, by the mediation and concession of Earl Robert, peace was established between the Bishop and the Abbot and Monks of Tewkesbury, the Bishop giving consent to their holding all the tithes and benefices given, or to be given, lawfully to them in his diocese, and they yielding to the Bishop their tithe of the cultivated demesne in the moor between Taff and Ely, and two parts of the tithe of Merthyr-Mawr and that attached to St. John's Chapel. Further, saving to Llandaff its own claim, they consent to allow to the Bishops of Llandaff a right of burial at Tewkesbury, of which privilege however they did not avail themselves. Twenty years before this the Earl had settled his own differences with Urban, the Bishop's predecessor, in an amicable manner, and some time afterwards Bishop Uchtred's concord was in like manner confirmed by Bishop Nicholas, who succeeded him.

Also in 1146 the Abbot and Convent of Gloucester farmed out for five years, for a fine of £80 in silver, Penon, with the Church of Llancarvan, to Robert Harding, with power to determine the agreement on a rateable repayment. This agreement was witnessed by the Earl with the whole *comitatus* of Cardiff. Afterwards, during the episcopate of Bishop Nicholas, 1153-1183, the Abbot let Treygoff and the Church of Llancarvan, saving the tithe, to Archdeacon Urban, at 60*s*. per annum. Soon afterwards, however, the archdeacon, probably feeling a scruple of conscience about the matter, with the Bishop's consent renounced his lease.

Earl Robert, after having borne the brunt of the

civil war, was denied the satisfaction of witnessing the close of it, and his nephew's accession. He died at Bristol in October 1147, seven years before the pacification of Wallingford and the death of Stephen, and was buried in the Priory of St. James, his own foundation. Earl Robert also founded Margam in 1147, the last year of his life. In 1148 Bishop Uchtred died, and was succeeded at Llandaff by Nicholas, son of Bishop Gwrgan. Uchtred seems to have been married; at least his daughter Angharad was the wife of Jorworth ap Owain of Caerleon.

Earl Robert was one of the greatest soldiers and most prudent, or perhaps astute, statesmen of his day. Whatever, under other circumstances, he may possibly have intended, he was a loyal promoter of his sister's interests, and did much to correct or rather to check her weak but imperious character. Like his father Beauclerc, he was a great patron of literature and himself a man of letters. He was the friend of Caradoc of Llancarvan, and probably the cause of the Norman bias of that historian. To him Geoffrey of Monmouth dedicated his version of the *Brut*, and William of Malmesbury his history, attributing to him the magnanimity of his grandsire the Conqueror, the munificence of his uncle William Rufus, and the circumspection of his father. It was unfortunate for the good government of Glamorgan that English affairs occupied so much of the latter part of his life.

Besides his Welsh endowments, Earl Robert was a liberal benefactor to the church upon his English estates. He founded the Priory of St. James at Bristol, in the choir of which he was buried, and where his effigy carved in wood, though probably not quite of contemporary date, is still preserved. To St. Peter's at Gloucester he gave, 1130-39, Treygoff, and in a later charter, 1139-47, he confirmed Treygoff with Penon and the church of Llancarvan, and to Ewenny the gifts of Maurice de Londres, all for the weal of his soul and that of Mabel his countess, who

witnessed the charter. In it Robert styles himself "Robertus regis filius Gloucestriæ Consul". In another longer charter, probably of the same date, he confirms the gifts of Maurice de Londres and Gilbert de Turberville to Ewenny, and adds twenty-one acres of arable land outside the gates of Kenfig. He also confirms his quittance of toll to Ewenny. All this he does "amore beati Michaelis archiangeli". Earl Robert is said to have built a castle at Faringdon in Berkshire, but this was probably a slight and temporary work, it may be of timber.

Countess Mabel survived her husband ten years, during which time she seems to have acted with authority in Glamorgan. Her earliest charter as a widow, given probably in 1147, is a confirmation to St. Peter's of Gloucester, and commences "M : Comitissa Gloucestriæ, et Willelmus comes, filius ejus, Willelmo filio Stephani constabulario suo, etc." Fitz-Stephen was constable of Cardiff Castle. The lands confirmed are Treygoff, Llancarvan, and Penon. Mabel also gave to St. Augustin's, Bristol, sixty acres of land in the marsh of Rhymny; and in Earl William's charter to Neath, he adds the assent and consent of Mabel his mother. She died in 1157.

Her children were:—1, William; 2, Roger, Bishop of Worcester in 1164; he was Henry's messenger to Rome after Becket's murder in 1167, and died at Tours Aug. 9, 1179; 3, Hamo, who witnessed his brother's foundation of Ardennes in 1139 as "Hamo filius comitis Gloucestriæ", and who died at the siege of Thoulouse in 1159; 4, Philip, who married a daughter of Roger Lord Berkeley, and latterly took part with Stephen; 5, A son mentioned by William of Jumieges, and who probably was the "Richard, son of Robert, Earl of Gloucester", who, says Orderic, received in 1135 the Bishopric of Bayeux. As bishop, in 1138, he witnessed a deed of commutation, between Roger, Abbot of Fecamp, and Earl Robert, concerning the priory of Gilves (?), and in the same year founded Ardennes, an

abbey near Caen, in the charter for which he is styled "Richard, Bishop of Bayeux, son of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, son of the King of England". Of an additional donation it is stated, "Dedit autem et Robertus regis filius Gloucestriæ consul". Bishop Richard died April 3, 1142.—(*Gall. Ch.*, xi, 78, Inst.) 6, Maud, who married Ralph Gernons, Earl of Chester.

William, the second Earl of Gloucester, succeeded his father in 1147, and his mother in 1157, and held the lordship from the former period thirty-six years. He is first mentioned in the foundation charter of Neath in 1129, and next as governor of Wareham Castle, during his father's absence in Normandy, in 1142, where he was attacked by Stephen and the castle taken. He commenced his rule, probably with an understanding with his mother, by a charter dated January 1148, addressed in regal style to his dapifer, barons, vicecomes, and to his lieges generally, French, English, or Welsh. It is specially addressed to Hamo de Valoygnes, one of a family then considerable in the county, and it alludes to the foundation of the churches of St. Mary and St. Thomas at Cardiff. By another charter he confirmed certain gifts to Tewkesbury.

In 1153 his name, as "William Earl of Gloucester", is attached to the convention between Stephen and Maud. Also in 1153 died William, the first Abbot of Margam, who was succeeded by Abbot Andrew, who died December 31, 1155. In 1154, October 25, Stephen died, and Henry II succeeded to the throne. In 1156, Geoffrey, Bishop of Llandaff, died whilst engaged at mass.

A great event in Earl William's reign, according to the Welsh Chronicles, was his war with Ivor ap Meyric or Ivor bach, Lord of Senghenydd, of which the Earl threatened to deprive him, and whose stronghold seems to have been on the high ground above the later fortress of Castell coch, overlooking the plain of Cardiff, and placed most conveniently for a dash at that castle. No doubt the hopes of the Welsh were at that time

much excited by the ill success of Henry's expedition in North Wales in 1157, but Ivor's enterprise, as recorded by Giraldus, who however places it in 1153, was not the less a marvel of audacity. Cardiff Castle, as may yet in part be seen, was defended by a wall 40 feet high and 11 feet thick, and was at that time garrisoned by 120 men at arms and a large body of archers and a strong watch. In the contiguous town was also a stipendiary force. Ivor, however, with his Welshmen scaled the wall at night, surprised the garrison, carried off the Earl, his countess, and their son to the hills, and dictated his own terms. The Welsh pedigrees, by way of rounding off the story, make him marry the Earl's daughter, but the more reliable English records give no support to this part of it. Ivor's descendants long continued to be the mesne Lords of Senghenydd, and still, both in the male and female line, retain considerable property within that lordship, both above the Caiach about Merthyr and Morlais, and below the Caiach about Van, Eglwysilan and Llanishen; but this raid probably gave occasion, a century later, to the construction of the tower of Whitchurch and the castellets of Castell coch and Morlais. The grand border fortress of Caerphilly was due to a more national attack, but all were built by the de Clare's upon the private domain of Ivor's descendants.

5th Henry II, 1158-9, Thomas, nephew to the Earl of Gloucester, owed fifty marcs to the Exchequer for his land at Chichester, Devon; and in the sixth year this is entered *de placitis* of William Fitz John, who is remitted the fifty marcs by the King. Who Thomas was is not known; probably the same who in 1176, as the nephew to the Earl of Gloucester, with Richard his son, owed forty marcs to the Exchequer. In 1160, during the King's prolonged stay in Normandy, Earl William took part in an expedition against Rhys ap Griffith, who retaliated in the year following by burning the grange of Margam. In 1165-6, upon the aid

for marrying the King's daughter to Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, the Earl was rated upon 36⅓ fees in Kent, and elsewhere on 274 fees, in all 309⅓ fees, of which 261½ were in the Honour of Gloucester. This was exclusive of his Welsh lordship, which seems recently to have been augmented by the acquisition of Caerleon from Meredyth ap Howel. In 1166 Robert (?), Earl William's brother, died. In 1169 the Earl founded Keynsham Abbey. The invasion of Ireland by Earl Richard of Striguil, in 1169, was strongly supported in Glamorgan; and among the knights who won and settled upon estates in that country are very many whose names show them to have emigrated from the lordship, such are Barry, Cogan, Kenefek, Penrice, Scurlock, and about a hundred others.

In the autumn of 1171, and in March 1172, Henry passed through Cardiff on his way to and from Ireland. On the latter occasion occurred the incident related by Giraldus, and which is thought to mark the commencement of the movement for keeping holy the Lord's day, which became popular in the reign of King John. Henry being at Cardiff on Low Sunday (April 23) heard mass in St. Perian's Chapel, in Shoemaker Street, and as he came forth and was about to mount his horse, a man addressed him in English, saying—"God keep thee, O king; Christ and his Holy Mother, John the Baptist, and Peter the Apostle greet thee, and by me order thee to forbid all fairs and markets on the Lord's day, and all not necessary labours, and take thou heed that the sacred offices be devoutly administered; so shalt thou prosper." "Ask the master", said the King in Norman French, turning to Sir Philip Marcross, "whether he directed this"; on which the man repeated his admonition, saying, "Unless thou dost obey me, and at once amend thy life, before a year shall pass away, harder things will happen to thee, which, so long as thou livest, thou shall not shake off"; and having so spoken he disappeared, while the King, having mounted, rode away over Rhymny bridge into

England. It was during this Irish journey that Henry summoned Yorworth of Caerleon and his sons to meet him at Newport on Usk, addressing to them a safe conduct. While on the road, one of the Earl of Gloucester's men met them, and killed Owen the son of Yorworth, on which Yorworth, distrustful, returned, and laid waste the country towards Gloucester. Henry finally took possession of Caerleon; in revenge for which, in July 1174, when Henry was beyond the sea, Yorworth and Morgan ap Sissylt ap Dynval destroyed Caerleon town and castle, and wasted the neighbourhood, then in English occupation. In 1171-2 the Bishop of Llandaff, the see being much impoverished by these repeated harryings, received 66*s.* 8*d.*, the King's gift, and a corrody of 13*s.* from Hyde Abbey.

In 1173 the Pipe Roll enters from Gilbert de Umfraville, £44 10*s.* 2*d.*, *pro rehabenda terra sua*, of which the Earl of Gloucester had deforced him. There was in the treasury £9 6*s.* 8*d.*, and he owed £35 3*s.* 6*d.*, and in the next year's account he had paid 101*s.* 8*d.* This looks as though the Earl's lands were in the King's hands; which is strange, unless indeed the King had taken them in hand on account of the Earl's adherence to the party of the young Henry, to which for a time he either gave his aid, or at least did not support the King, affecting neutrality. That the King was dissatisfied with him is also shown by his having actually imprisoned him with the Earl of Lincoln, and by his including him among those whom he dispossessed of their castles, when he attached that of Bristol to the Crown. This was in 1175-6, in which year Henry received at Gloucester the Welsh magnate Rhys ap Griffith, and with him Morgan ap Caradoc ap Jestyn of Avan, whose mother Gwladys was Prince Rhys's sister, and Griffith ap Ivor bach ap Meyric of Senghenydd, together with another nephew of Rhys, also a son of his sister; with them came Yorworth ap Owen of Caerleon. It should be observed that both Morgan and Griffith were vassal barons of the Earl

of Gloucester, and had he been in a position to enforce his rights they would not have been admitted to the sovereign. In Lent 1177, at the assembly in London in which Henry arbitrated between the Kings of Castile and Navarre, Earl William appears as one of the witnesses of the confirming document.

In 1181 Henry proclaimed an assize of arms, certainly much needed, on the Welsh borders, but which was an assumption by the Crown of the right to tax rents and, in some degree, personal chattels. Every holder of a knight's fee was to be provided with a cuirass, a helmet, a shield, and a lance; and so many fees as he may hold, so many of each was he to provide. Every free layman, having chattels or a rental equal to sixteen marcs, was to provide a hauberk, an iron headpiece, and a lance. No man is to sell, to pledge, or to lend these arms; no lord is to seize them. They are to descend to the heir, and if he be an infant the guardian is to use them until the owner be able to bear arms. No man is to possess more arms than the above. In 1182 the Welsh slew Ranulph Poer, the King's sheriff for Gloucestershire. Nicholas, Bishop of Llandaff, died 6 Sep. 1183.

Earl William died on the night of St. Clement's, 23 Nov. 1183, the anniversary of his birth, and probably about the sixtieth of his age. Among his works was the building of the town of Kenfig, and the foundation of Keynsham Abbey at the request of his dying son. To the monks of Neath he confirmed his father's gift of Blackscarr, to which he added the right of wreck upon their sea shore. To Margam he gave by charter, before 1166, tested by his countess and addressed to his sheriff and barons, "Siwardum palmiferum," with his house and curtilage, by the hand of Robert his son. By another charter he gave to the monks of St. Peter's, Gloucester, freedom from toll in Bristol, Cardiff, and Newport, for the soul's weal of himself, his countess, and their son. To St. Augustine's, Bristol, he gave the tithes of his mills at Newport, and a tenth of his

forest rent for Candelan, with lands on the river Rhymny near Cardiff; and to the church of St. Guthlac, Hereford, freedom from toll throughout his Welsh possessions, and the same freedom to the monks of Goldcliff, in Bristol, Cardiff, Newport, Caerleon, and Chepstow. By another charter, preserved in the Bradenstoke Cartulary, he gave to a certain "Stemor" his burgage in Cardiff at 12*d.* per annum rent instead of 2*s.* Another charter, tested by his countess, relates to what Mr. Floyd supposes to be the parish church of St. Mary at Cardiff, which he seems to have rebuilt and dedicated to St. Mary and St. Thomas, then recently martyred. There are also other charters by Earl William, relating to donations in Gloucester and Dorset.[1] He was buried at Keynsham.

Earl William married Hawise, daughter of Robert Bossu, Earl of Leicester. She died 24th April 1197, having had to stand up for her vidual rights. 1st Richard I she had £50 allowed her for her *maritagium* for the half year, in the accounts of the Honour of Gloucester; and 7th Richard I, just before her death, she accounted for 200 marcs, or £66 13*s.* 4*d.*, in the Pipe Roll of Devon and Somerset, as her payment on her dower and *maritagium.*

Their children were—1, Robert, mentioned in the Pipe Roll 1155 as "Robertum filium Comitis Gloucestriæ"; he was born and died at Cardiff, and was buried at Keynsham; 2, Mabel; 3, Amice; 4, Isabel. As Robert died young and childless, the three sisters became coheirs.

It was Earl William who presented King Henry with the spotted greyhound so celebrated for his fidelity to Owen ap Caradoc ap Jestyn, having received seven wounds in defence of his master, who was slain by Cadwalader ap Caradoc, his brother, who also came to an untimely end.

Upon the Earl's death the lordship fell into the cus-

[1] He also granted certain lands to the House of Boley, near Torigny.—*Gall. Christ.*, xi, 456.

tody of the crown, and its accounts appear in the Pipe Rolls of the 30th Henry II, 1183-4. These accounts are very curious, and though too long to be given at length, show the value of the Pipe Rolls, and what has been lost by the destruction of the records of the local Chancery. The several officers who account to the King for the receipts and expenditure, half year by half year, are Maurice de Berkeley, Hamo de Valoygnes, and Hugh Bardolf. Under them are William de Cogan, Walter Luvel, Reginald Fitz-Simon, and one or two others who were in charge of the castles of Neath, Kenfig, Newcastle, Rhymny and Newport. There are also charges for military stores and fittings, warnisture for these castles, and for their repairs, especially for gates and palisades, probably barriers in advance of the gates. There were also horsemen and footmen serving for a term at livery at the lord's expense, whose leaders were W[m] le Sor, Walt[r] de Lageles, Walter Luvel, Payn de Turberville, Reginald Fitz Simon and Hoel of Caerleon, and allowances for the hire of shipping for stores and provisions, and for the transport of de Valoygnes and his knights. Tithes are paid to Tewkesbury; compensation for horses lost or killed by the Welsh; Roath and Rhymny bridges are repaired; and two millstones put into Leckwith Mill. Kenfig town had been burned, and had to be enclosed, "præcludenda" and the rents remitted for a year. The Dean and the Archdeacon came in for compensation for injuries done by the Welsh. Philip de Marcross, the Under-Sheriff, has a handsome present for the charge of the lordship; as the Sheriff is not mentioned it may be supposed that the two officers stood, as to loss and gain, as they do now. There are charges for the keeping of Welsh prisoners, and one very grim-looking item for "chains for Welsh prisoners and doing justice on them." The income is derived from a variety of sources—rents, or farms of manors and mills, pleas of courts and perquisites, wards, fairs, and earnest money; lands seized because their lords did not discharge the service due, and chattels forfeited

for disobedience of orders. Wardships formed a regular portion of the Lord's revenue. One occurs in the person of the daughter of Guy de Trotington, whose land is in the Lord's hands. A relief also is paid by Robert de Cardiff on obtaining seizin of his land, and a fine is levied upon Alan de St. George, probably on a similar occasion.

In 1184 Henry was at Worcester on South Wales' affairs. Rhys ap Griffith had a safe conduct and came to the King, and promised his sons and nephews as hostages. They, however, refused to redeem the promise. It is rather strange, after what had passed, that Howel of Caerleon should be in the King's service against his countrymen.

In 1185 the Welsh, unrestrained by any giving of hostages, took advantage of the interregnum, and invaded and laid waste Glamorgan. An eclipse, which presented the sun of the colour of blood, no doubt was construed in their favour. They burned Kenfig for the second time—"it had not been burned a year or more"—and the town of Cardiff. Neath was attacked, but relieved by the Normans, who beat off the swarm of Welshmen, and burned their machines of war. It was then that, at Llanridian in Gower, St. Iltyd's spring flowed with milk, and that of so excellent a quality that butter rose upon its surface. In this year William, Prior of St. Augustine's, became Bishop of Llandaff, and in 1187 consecrated the altar of the Holy Trinity in the Abbey of Margam.

On the 6th July 1189, King Henry died, the lordship being still in the hands of the Crown.

# THE CO-HEIRS OF THE HONOUR AND LORDSHIP, AND THE COMING IN OF THE HOUSE OF CLARE.

---

The ages of Earl William's daughters at the time of his death are not on record, but they certainly were very young. Dugdale, following Walsingham, says that the Earl, to prevent the division of the heritage, adopted as his heir, at Windsor in 1176, the King's second son, John; but this must have been with the understanding that he was to marry one of the coheirs. Madox (*Bar. Angl.*, p. 201) says that on the Earl's death the Honour of Gloucester, in which he evidently includes the Welsh lordship, was escheated to the Crown; and Hugh Bardolph, in accounting to Richard I for the issues "de tribus partibus anni", says this was "antequam rex daret eundem Honorem Johanni fratri suo" (Pipe Roll, 1st Richard I). Nevertheless, the subsequent descents of both Honour and Lordship show that they were not held as male fiefs; but, like all other property, where the law had its course, descended to the heiresses, subject to a purparty or division, and subject, of course, during a minority, to the usual rights of wardship. When, some years later, the male line of the de Clares failed, but very few of their manors reverted to the Crown; the great bulk of the estate was held by the King as in wardship, and so soon as it was certain that there was no male heir of the body of the last Earl, on the petition of the sisters, was divided. It is, therefore, probable that the vesting of the estate in John was by an arrangement with Earl William; and that this was so, is supported by the fact that after John divorced the heiress he gave up the estate, though

with a very bad grace, and after considerable delay. The title of Earl of Gloucester was certainly a personal grant by Henry I to his son Robert on his marriage. It could not have been a part of Mabel's heritage, for Fitz-Hamon was not an earl. With the title Henry evidently made the usual grant of the third penny of the county. The learned authors of the *Peerage Reports* deny this, but in the Pipe Roll of 1st Richard I, after the passage above cited, follows, "et de xxxii libris de tercio denario comitatus de dimidio anno;" and in the Roll of 3rd John, Almaric d'Evreux had xx*li.* of the third penny of the same county. The usual appanage of an earl in those days was the third penny of the pleas of his county.

The limitation under which the earldom descended is obscure. It does not appear why John's marriage should have made him Earl of Gloucester, as his wife was not sole heiress of her father, although in Bristol Castle she possessed what was probably then regarded as the "caput Honoris Gloucestriæ". Gloucester, which she did not possess, might probably be the "caput Comitatus," but it was never held by the earls.

On Earl William's death Henry stepped in, as guardian of the infant co-heiresses and custos of the lands. The latter he held about six years, when the issues were returned as a branch of the royal revenue. Thus, 33rd Henry II, 1186-7, Hugh Bardolph accounted for the scutages, "quia Honor est in manu regis," and in the same year is an account of £43 17*s.* 7*d.* for works at Kenefit Castle, probably Kenfig, in Glamorgan, though possibly a Herefordshire fortress.

On Henry's death the wardship passed with the crown to Richard, and the accounts, besides the third penny mentioned above, show "et comitissæ Gloucestriæ £50 pro dote et maritagio suo de dimidio anno per Ran' de Glanvill' precepto regis." This was the Countess Dowager. Other entries show that Bardolf accounted for the Castle of Caermarthen and for works at Bristol Castle, as well as for certain issues from the Abbot of

Keynsham. Among the tenants Henry de Umfranvill owed £4 for his relief, and Roger de Maisi £45 for nine knight's fees held of the Honour, but probably, in strictness, of the Lordship of Glamorgan. Fitz-Stephen seems to have accounted for the issues of the County, Bardolf for those of the Honour. Richard held the wardship two-thirds of a year, and then, in 1189, determined it in favour of Isabel, the third sister, whom he married to his brother John, to whom she had been contracted in 1176. The accounts for 1189-90, 1st Richard I, show for saddles, etc., for the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester and her maidens, £17 2*s.* 7*d.*, and for various furs for her and the daughter of the Earl of Chester, as well as for the Queen and the sister of the King of France, 73*s.* 4*d.* She had also three roserells. John held the Honour by baronial homage and service. He lost it for a time when disseized of his English lands by the sentence of the royal court, but regained it on his reconciliation with his brother. It seems to have been in the Crown in the 9th Richard I, 1197-8, when William de Warene was custós of the Honour, and was collecting for Richard's ransom. The names of some of the knights in his accounts, as de Cardiff, de Granville, and de Sanford, belong both to the Honour and to the Lordship of Glamorgan.

On John's accession he became both chief and mesne lord. Madox is careful to point out that while John's own services thus became extinguished, the tenants continued to pay theirs as holding "in capite ut de Honore." Also, as an Honour was a Barony, it did not merge in the Crown, as was the case with a knight's fee or a demesne manor, but was held in abeyance and distinct, and was described technically as holden "in dominio". John's marriage was opposed by Archbishop Baldwin as within the forbidden degrees, both parties descending from Henry I. While Earl of Moretaine it suited John to disregard this objection, but when he succeeded as king, and had no children, he revived it and obtained a divorce.

According to the Annals of Tewkesbury, John's marriage, though contracted for in 1176, with the proviso that the Pope's license was to be obtained, did not actually take place until Richard's accession in 1189. It must have been just before the marriage, during the episcopate of William de Saltmarsh, that Archbishop Baldwin, accompanied by Giraldus Cambrensis, visited Glamorgan, preached the crusade at Llandaff, was the guest of Abbot Conan at Ewenny, and was guided across the treacherous marshes and sands between the Avan and the Nedd by Morgan ap Caradoc, Jestyn's eldest grandson, and the Lord of Avan. Richard's letter from Messina, written about the 25th January 1191, is addressed to John, Earl of Gloucester, and John so styles himself in forwarding the letter to the Archbishop, although he seldom used the title afterwards. In 1199, 30th October, he confirmed to William de Berkeley a donation made by Robert Earl of Gloucester, and soon after his marriage he, as "Comes de Moreton", or "Moritonie", granted charters of confirmation to Neath and Margam. The Neath charter has been printed; that to Margam, dated Cardiff on the Tuesday before St. Hilary 1193, is in excellent preservation, and bears John's seal as Lord of Glamorgan, with two passant lions on his shield. It is one of a mass of similar documents in the possession of Mr. Talbot of Margam, which, if examined, would no doubt throw much light on the early history of that abbey, and on the descent of property in the county in the twelfth century. There is also another charter by John, without date, but granted before his accession, preserved in the Cottonian MSS. (Cleopatra, A vii, 73 b), printed in the *New Monasticon* (ii, 69). 7 Aug. 1197, "Elizabetha Comitissa Gloucestriæ et Moreton" confirmed a charter "a domino meo Johanne Moreton" to John, Bishop of Worcester, concerning Malvern forest (*Nash Worc.*, ii, 137). It is dated from Bec.

The divorce seems to have occurred in May 1200, and John's marriage to Isabel of Angoulême followed at

once, so that they were crowned at Christmas. That John retained the Lordship and Honour in his hands is evident from his grants after his accession. 22nd October 1199, he confirmed a grant by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, of Eldresfield, to William son of William de Berkeley, and 18th April 1200, a grant of Bedminster manor by the same to the same. This indeed he might have done as sovereign, but in his first year William de Falaise and Master Swern account for the issues of the Honour, and probably of the lordship, which for this month are £223 12s. 3d. Also, 1201-2, Guy de Cancellis accounted to the Crown for the scutages of the Honour of Gloucester, levied upon 327½ fees, and the King retained also the castle and barton of Bristol. The Pipe Roll for the following year, 3rd John, 1202, has been printed. In it William de Falaise accounts for the Honour for the past year. Among the tenants who belonged also to Glamorgan are Henry de Umfranvill, who paid 12 marks on 5 fees; Roger de Meisi, 24 marks on 4 fees; John le Sor, 36 marks on 14 fees; Roger Corbet, 8 marks on 1 fee; Herbert de St. Quintin, 3 marks for 10 fees; and Milo de Sumeri, 5 marks for 3½ fees. William de Montacute and Ralph de Cirecest' were allowed £50 for the expenses of the Countess [of Gloucester] at Bristol, by a letter from Geoffry Fitz-Peter. Keynsham Abbey paid 40*d.* for scutage.

In the next roll, 4th John, the fees in the Honour of Gloucester are 304¼, of which 47¼ are in Glamorgan. The Earl of Evreux held 20 fees, and the Earl of Clare 15 fees. Also Henry de Umphravill accounts for 20 marks on 5 fees; John le Sor, 60 marks on 14 fees; and H. de St. Quintin, 50 marks on 10 fees. Also, 13th April, 1204, John confirmed certain gifts in Petersfield, Hants, by William Earl of Gloucester and Hawise his wife; and 23rd June 1205, granted a "masagium" or habitation, in Lincoln, to be held of the Earl of Gloucester and his heirs. As king he also confirmed the charters to Margam and Neath. To

Margam, his confirmations, four in number, are dated 15th May 1205; a second probably in the same year; and the others 22nd July and 11th August 1207, are printed in the Rotulus Chartarum, as are those to Neath, 6th January, 5th August, and 11th August 1207. Also in the *New Monasticon* (vi, 366), is a charter confirming to St. Augustin's, Bristol, the grant of Earl William between Cardiff and the Rhymny, and others by Countess Mabel, William's mother. Certain allowances, apparently not very liberal ones, were made to the lawful heiress, who retained her titular rank. At Tewkesbury, John built the long bridge and granted the town tolls for its repair.

6th November 1201, the justiciary was directed to allow the Countess of Gloucester to hold her lands in peace, "sicut antecessores"; and 30th July 1205, "Our beloved Countess" is to have "qualibet septimana unam damam". 6th February 1206, she has £12 for her expenses from the Exchequer; and 26th May, the King allows the reasonable expenses of the Earl (Countess) of Gloucester at Winchester. 20th March 1207, a ton (tonellum) of wine, also charged to the Exchequer, is allowed, and certain necessary expenses for her at Sherborne, to be certified by her servant Hamo. The Pipe Roll of 8th John contains an entry of 40 marks for disseizin for Amicia, formerly Countess of Clare.

19th September 1207, Falkes, the King's bailiff in Glamorgan, has an allowance for the repairs of the castles there; his patent as Custos is dated February 1207. 3rd December, the Castle of Sherborne in Dorset is mentioned as belonging to the Countess, and no doubt her residence.

27th December, Falkes is informed that Gilbert de Turberville has appeased the King by the payment of a horse for his fine on relief for his land. 23rd March 1208, Keynsham Abbey is vacant and Gilbert de Aties is to provide the canons with food and clothing, and

Falkes is to give him seizin of their land in Glamorgan. 9th April, Falkes is directed to let William de Londres have the Priory of Ewenny, which is of his fee. Falkes was the notorious Falcasius de Breauté.

By an entry on the Patent Rolls of 5 March 1208, John calls on the Barons and Knights of the Honour of Glamorgan and of the Honour of Cardiff, to put in repair his houses in the Ballium of Cardiff Castle as they were wont to do, so that they may discharge their Castle guards, as they value their fees. This shows that the greater tenants occupied houses in the Castle court, which were kept in repair by them, though belonging to the lord.

10th John, 1208-9, a charter roll contains the accounts of Falkes for £100 for the Honour of Gloucester; for works at Cardiff and Neath Castles, £22 10*s.*, and 100 marks for the custody of Swansea Castle. From Gilbert de Turberville 25 marks; from the monks of Neath 50 marks and a palfrey. From the Abbot of Margam £17 16*s.* 6*d.*, and from the same abbot, among the "oblata", 100 marks for having in free alms the Manors of Lalvereth and Haved Halown with appurtenances, and similarly the Manor of Pettun and appurtenances, as in the King's charter. Agnes, widow of Hamelin de Torinton, a family related to the Umfravilles and Sullys, pays 20 marks. Philip de Nerberd accounts for £20 for having his land. Galfrid Whytney (?) accounts for 200 marks and a palfrey for custody of the lands and heir of Henry de Umphraville.

10th John, William son of Caswallon was allowed 1 mark for the loss of his horse. In 1210 John was in Glamorgan; 28th May and 28th August, at Margam, then spelt Margan or Morgan; 21st May, at Neath; and 29th May, at Swansea. At that time Gower seems to have been in his hands, and, 11th November 1208, he freed the English and Welsh of that lordship from certain burthens connected with the Castle of Swansea. In 1210, Rhys and Owen, sons of Griffith ap Rhys, were sent as messengers to Falkes to try to

bring about a peace; but, notwithstanding this, 12th John, 1210-11, 50 marks were expended in strengthening Swansea Castle; a not unnecessary outlay, for in 1211 the Welsh, under Cadwalon ap Ivor bach, burnt and plundered Glamorgan, as, in 1212, Rees Vachan treated the town of Swansea. 14th John, Falkes de Breauté is quitted £200 for the farm of Glamorgan for the preceding and current years. 31st April 1213, the King issued a brief of inquisition into the losses sustained by the Church in the late discords between the King and the Clergy of England, and that for the See of Llandaff was addressed to Richard Flandrensis of Glamorgan and Walter de Sulye. As the see was not vacant, they were probably selected as upright and independent assessors. In that year Gilbert, Abbot of Margam, was displaced, and was succeeded, 18th May, by John de Goldcliffe, one of the monks. Gilbert became a monk at Kirkstall, and died 12th May 1214.

A little before this, 12th March 1213, the King allowed to Isabel, Countess of Gloucester, "rationabile testamentum quod fecit de rebus suis mobilibus", probably with a view to her marriage. And, 16th January 1214, Peter de Cancellis is to bring safely to the King the Countess of Gloucester, now in his charge, apparently at Bristol Castle. Guion de Cancellis was at this time Custos of the Honour of Gloucester.

After about thirteen years of widowhood, which, in a time when a widow with a large jointure as an inheritance seldom remained single, may, without much fear of injustice to John, be attributed to his wish to retain the earldom in his own hands, Countess Isabel married Geoffrey Fitz-Peter or de Mandeville, the justiciary, who, on the death of his father, 2nd October 1213, became Earl of Essex, and had livery of his paternal estates. No doubt the marriage took place very soon afterwards, for, 24th January 1214, the Exchequer was to allow £13 15*s.* 8*d.*, to be spent in robes for the Countess of Gloucester and her maidens, and by the 28th they were married, and Geoffrey had certainly

been admitted to her lands, seeing that in February he was ordered to be disseized, because he had not paid the fees due. The precept for his admission "Honori de Glanmorgan" is addressed to Falke de Breauté, and dated 26 January 1214.

The fine for the marriage was 20,000 marks, and Geoffrey's relief on taking up the earldom of Essex was a similar sum, to be paid in four equal parts. Probably he contrived to pay the first instalment at once, for, 9th and 10th of August 1214, the King informs the sheriffs of thirty-two counties that he has given Isabel to Geoffrey de Mandeville to wife, and that he is to have the whole Honour of Gloucester, and to be installed in all Earl William's rights, except the castle, vill, and forest of Bristol, and the vill of Campden. The seizin of Geoffrey's own lands in Bucks was not given till the 23rd of June. 21st November in the same year, 1214, he witnessed John's charter concerning the freedom of episcopal elections, as "Gaufrido de Mandevillæ, Comite Gloucestrie et Essexie", and, as "Comes Gloucestrie", he was one of the twenty-five barons chosen under the Great Charter, 15th June 1215. In January in that year, he had witnessed a royal proclamation as Earl of Gloucester and Essex, and a late convention as Earl of Essex and Gloucester. Nicholas, however, dates his assumption of the earldom of Gloucester from 1215. In the Pipe Roll, 3rd John, 1202, £50 is allowed for the expenses of the Countess of Gloucester at Bristol, by two briefs of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, and another £20 for the same expenses, "predictæ comitissæ", also "per breve G: f: Peter". At this time the Honour contained three hundred and twenty seven and three-tenths fees, besides twenty fees which could not be identified.

Geoffrey's usual style was Earl of Essex and Gloucester, and that of his wife Countess of Gloucester and Essex. Her charter to Basalleg, printed by Hearn (A. de Domerham, ii, 609), combines the two, and commences "Ego, Isabella, Comitissa Gloucestrie et Essexie, consensu et assensu domini mei Galfridi de Mandevilla

Comitis Essexie et Gloucestrie". The divorce alienated the whole Gloucester interest from John, who also so mismanaged the marriage as to throw the new Earl also into opposition, which continued during the few months that intervened before his death, childless, before June 1216, in London, in consequence of an accident at a tournament. John at once, 19th June, granted to Savary de Mauléon all the lands which had belonged to Geoffrey de Mandeville and his brother William, then probably in arms against the King. John himself died 19th October, 1216. The accounts show that of the 20,000 marks, Earl Geoffrey had paid half only, and the remainder, being a charge upon his estate, was demanded at the hands of Earl William, his brother and successor, as late as 12th May 1226; and long afterwards, 18th June 1242, Letters patent were issued, allowing the remainder of the fine of 20,000 marks made by Geoffrey de Mandeville with King John, for the marriage of Isabel, Countess of Gloucester, to be paid by annual instalments of £40 10*s*., out of the third penny of the County of Essex. While a widow, Isabel granted a charter to Margam, preserved at Penrice, as "Ego Ysabell Comitissa Gloucester 'et Essex' in libera viduitate mea", and another while still a widow, to Caerleon, but she speedily became the third wife of Hubert de Burgh, then justiciary. The date of this marriage is not recorded, but it must have been immediate, for, 13th August 1217, all the lands of the Countess of Gloucester were committed to Hubert de Burgh (*Pat. Roll*, 1st Henry III, m. 4), and in the same year Hubert had livery of Walden, a part of Isabel's dower, and, 17th September, the King informed the sheriffs of nine counties that the Countess had come in to his fealty and service, and was to be placed as she stood before the war between the King and the Barons of England. This was under Henry III, and just after the battle of Lincoln. She died almost immediately, for, 15th October, was an order as to the custody of her land, she being dead (*P. Roll*, 1st

Henry III, m. 1); and, 30th October, she, which must mean her estate, was called upon to pay scutage. 5th Henry III, Hubert married Margaret of Scotland. He does not appear as Earl of Gloucester; probably he had not time to fulfil the necessary formalities. He was created Earl of Kent 11th February 1227, with remainder to his heirs by Margaret.

Isabel having died childless, the inheritance passed, *de jure*, to the son of her eldest sister, Mabel, who had married Almeric or Aymar de Montfort, Comte d'Evreux, who, as "Aumericus Comes Ebroicarum", tested a charter by Henry I to Conches in 1130, and is named in a Bull of Pope Eugenius in 1152. He died 1196, while the Earldom of Gloucester was in the hands of the Crown, leaving a son, also Almeric, whose position with regard to his mother's right is obscure. Mabel is probably the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, to whom and her maidens was allowed, in the Pipe Roll of 7th Richard I, 1196, "£17 2*s.* 7*d.*, and for vair furs about 37*s.*, and for a Roserell £6". Sandford says, Henry II gave her £100 portion, because her father had passed her over and bestowed the earldom upon John. And the Pipe Roll, 4th John, already quoted, shows that her two sisters were allowed a share, though a small one, of the inheritance, the Earl of Evreux having 20, and the Earl of Clare 25 knight's fees.

The date of the elder Earl Almeric's marriage is not recorded, but the younger Earl, in May 1200, at the instance of King John, ceded his right in Evreux to Philip Augustus, for which he had an equivalent. The cession is the subject of a document given in the *Gallia Christiana* (xi, p. Inst.), which begins "Ego Almericus Comes Gloucestrie", and states that he is acting "de mandato domini mei Johannis illustris regis Angliæ", who "in sufficiens excambium inde donavit". William Mareschal is one of the witnesses. This was in May 1200, the very month of John's divorce from Almeric's aunt, and shows that, having himself no longer an interest in the title, he was disposed to allow the son

of the elder sister to assume it, as he continued to do, and was allowed some fragments of the property. Thus, in the Pipe Roll, 3rd John, 1202, William de Falaise accounts for 112*s.* 7*d.*, issues from the barton outside Bristol, "before it was given to Earl Almaric"; and by the same accounts "Almaric Comes Ebroic'": was allowed £20 out of the third penny of the county. Also, 26th January 1205, Falaise, as custos of the Honour, was directed to give to Earl Almaric, Bradested; and 31st April, Petersfield and Mapledurham; and 30th December, Burford; and 16th August 1206, certain other manors, all which had probably been his mother's jointure. Also, he occasionally witnesses royal charters, sometimes as "A: comite Gloucestrie", and sometimes as "A: comite Ebroic'", as in 1204-5, or simply as "Comes Gloucestrie", as a pledge in 1205 for Henry, son of the Earl of Cornwall for 4 marks; nor is there anything in the subject of the documents to account for this variety. No document has been discovered in which he uses the titles together, nor does he ever appear as Lord of Glamorgan or of the Honour of Gloucester. He seems to have died 1212-13, and was buried at Keynsham. Some further obscurities arise out of the disposition of the manors above mentioned. 20th November 1213, Gilbert de Clare is to have seizin of two parts of the land which Aumeric, Earl of Evreux, had in Merlaw and Hameldon, co. Bucks, and Melisent, his widow, the third part. Also, 15th December, the Countess of Gloucester is to have her chattels in these manors; and, 4th January 1214, the executors of the will of "A: comitis de Ebroic'" are to have his chattels in Thornbury, Petersfield, and Mapledurham. Also, 15th March 1217, William de Cantelupe, junior, and Melisant, who was the wife of Aumaric, Earl of Evreux, are to have her dower in Mapledurham and Petersfield, which she had from the Earl, her husband. Also, 2nd October, Gilbert de Clare was to give to William de Cantelupe and Melisant his wife possession of Merlaw, as part of her dower, and he is to answer to the King

for having disseised her of it. Finally, in 1215, about the 2nd of July, "Melisanta comitissa de Ebroill", appoints as her attorney Henry de Neford, in a plea concerning land, between the Countess, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Prior of Dunstable, Geoffrey de Mandeville, and Gilbert de Clare. The churchmen are probably trustees, and Geoffrey and Gilbert represented the other sisters.

It appears from Père Anselm's account (*Hist. Geneal., etc.*, vii, 74), which, however, is full of errors, that Almeric, evidently the son, married, secondly, Melesinda, daughter of Hugh de Gournay, who is doubtless the Melisant mentioned above. It is not improbable that the manors were originally settled on Mabel, that on her death they came to her son Almeric, and that in 1205 he was getting them resettled, on his marriage. The ordinary accounts make Mabel die before 1199, and her son childless in 1226, but the above entries show that he was dead in 1213, which may account for Isabel's marriage, and her husband's assumption of the earldom in 1214. Thus, the succession of the Earls of Gloucester from the death of Earl William was John, Earl of Moretain, Almeric Comte d'Evreux, and Geoffrey, Earl of Essex.

The death of Earl Geoffrey in 1216 and of Countess Isabel, probably in 1217, cleared the way for the succession, and makes it probable that the *Annals of Margam* are correct in stating that Gilbert de Clare assumed the earldom in 1217, although Nicholas places that event in 1126. He was certainly the Earl of Gloucester to whom the King sent a messenger at a cost of 6*d*., 9th March 1220, and another, who being sent to Clare, was paid 1*s*., 17th April 1222, and who, 19th February 1221, was rated for the scutage of Biham. He also appears in the great charter of Henry III as Earl of Gloucester. One of his early acts was to confirm to Tewkesbury the grants of his ancestors.

However, or by whom, the lordship may have been held during the forty-three years that elapsed from the

death of Earl William in 1173 to that of the Earl of Essex in 1216, after the latter event, it certainly vested *de jure* in the son of Amice, the second sister, who alone left issue, and it must be allowed that the new dynasty was one very capable of upholding and extending the title and inheritance of which it thus became the heir. The House of Clare ruled in Glamorgan for four generations, during a period of eighty-eight years, from 1226 to 1314, including the reigns of Henry III, Edward I, and a third part of that of Edward II, his son. The long reign of Henry III, the weakness and vacillation of his character and conduct, and the general dissatisfaction with his foreign relatives and favourites, gave great cause and great encouragement to the nobles to rebel, and at various times, and in the foremost rank of the disaffected, were the Earls of Gloucester and Pembroke, the former in the male line and the latter in the female, the representatives of the House of Clare, and the chief lords of the South and West Wales Marches. Their territory extended almost from Pembroke to Chepstow, including much of Cardigan and a large slice of Nether Gwent. Their only rivals, the Barons Braose of Gower, Lords of Brecknock and Abergavenny, were far too violent to have any permanent weight, or to interfere seriously with the ambition of the House of Clare. Under William Mareschal the elder, Lord of Chepstow and Pembroke, and the heir of Strongbow in Ireland, the Lords of the March were kept in tolerable order, but his death left the King without restraint, and the succeeding Earls Mareschal and of Gloucester with ample excuse, if not sufficient reason, for taking refuge in open rebellion.

The history of the House of Clare belongs quite as much to that of England as of their Welsh lordships, and although their near relationship to the Mareschals, and their differences with the Sovereign, caused them to rely much upon their position as marchers, they do not seem to have resided much at Cardiff, or to have

pursued any steady policy, either of peace or war, with regard to the Welsh.

GISLEBERT Crispin, the real founder of the Clare family, was the son of GODFRID or Goisfred, Comte d'Eu and de Brionne, a natural son of RICHARD the elder, Duke of Normandy. In the foundation charter of Bec Abbey, about 1034, he describes himself as "Gislebertus Brionensis Comes, primi Ricardi Normannorum ducis nepos, ex filio Consule Godefrido". These Norman earldoms are involved in much obscurity. Gislebert could scarcely have been Earl of the territory of Brionne, for his son continued to use the title of Comes after Brionne had been alienated. Probably it was personal. The sobriquet of Crispin was borne by another, also distinguished, Norman family, of whose founder the Monk of Bec records that he had "capillos crispos et rigidos, atque sursum erectos, et ut ita dicam, rebursos ad modum pini ramorum, qui sæpe tendunt sursum". Hence the name of "Crispinus, quasi crispus pinus", and such we may suppose to have been the character of the "chevelure" of Godfrid's immediate descendants. The county of Eu was taken from Gislebert by his kinsman Duke Richard II, and given to Gislebert's uncle, William. Brionne he retained, and Sap, said to be so called from a "sapin", or fir tree, planted in front of the church there. He was one of the young William's governors, but was assassinated in 1035. His sons were Richard and Baldwin, who, with his brother "Ricardus filius Comitis Gisleberti", witnessed the conveyance charter to Bury Abbey in 1081. (*N. Mon.*, iii, 141.) Baldwin was Seigneur de Maule, and called also "de Sap", or "le Viscomte", or "d'Exeter". From him the Earls of Devon inherited Okehampton. His second son Robert had Brionne.

RICHARD Fitz-Gislebert was also called de Bienfaite, not, as often said, from Benefield in Northamptonshire, a manor held, as Baker has shown, by Richard Engaine, but from a Norman benefice; and de Clare, and de Tunbridge, from his two principal English fiefs. On his

father's murder he and his brother fled to Flanders, and returned thence to Normandy, when Matilda married Duke William, who gave him Bienfaite and Orbec. He also held Brionne. He accompanied William to England, was present at Hastings, and was richly recompensed in English lands. His possessions lay in the counties of Beds, Cambridge, Devon, Essex, Kent, Middlesex, Suffolk, Surrey, and Wilts. In the *Survey* he is styled indiscriminately "Ricardus filius Gisleberti", "Ricardus filius Comitis Gisleberti", "Ricardus de Tonbridge", and "Ricardus de Clara". His Kentish land seems to have been mainly confined to the Leuca or Lowy of Tonbridge, but it is remarkable that neither Tonbridge nor the also important Barony of Hastings are named in *Domesday*. Dugdale says he obtained Tonbridge by exchange for Brionne with Archbishop Stigand, but this is exceedingly improbable. That the Leuca was in some way connected with Canterbury is certain, from the claim set up for it by Becket, on the ground that church lands were inalienable. The controversy, however, seems rather to have related to the castle than to the lands, which the de Clares seem always to have accepted as held by grand sergeanty of the See. Tonbridge and Clare contained ancient English fortresses of the first class.

Fitz-Gilbert's restless spirit was not content with 176 manors in England: he burned for further acquisitions, and invaded South Wales, where he conquered Cardigan, but met with his death, being slain at Llanthony by Yorworth, brother of Howel of Caerleon, about 1091. He was buried at St. Neots, and it is recorded of him, "Qui in re militari tempore Conquestoris omnes sui temporis magnates præcipit" (*Cott. MS.*, Vitell., F 4, f 7).

Earl Richard married Rohaise, a daughter, and eventually one of the two co-heirs of Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham, by Ermengarde Flaitel. This lady appears in *Domesday*, where mention is made of the "Terra Rothais uxoris Ricardi filii Gisleberti", in St. Neots,

and she afterwards, in 1113, gave the Manor of St. Neots to the Abbey there, of which she was reputed the second foundress. She and her husband transplanted a colony of French monks from Bec, exchanging them for the rebellious Englishmen, whom they imprisoned in Normandy. Her charter (*New Monasticon*, iii, 472) mentions her husband, sons, and daughters. These were:—1, Gislebert. 2, Robert of Dunmow, who married Maud de St. Liz, and died 31st Henry I. He was ancestor of the family of Fitz-Walter. 3, Roger de Bienfaite, Lord of Orbec and du Hommet, who supported Duke Robert in 1080, but was afterwards attached to Rufus and Henry, whose life he saved at the battle of Brenneville, near Andelys, 1119. He died childless. 4, Walter of Nether Gwent, the founder of Tintern Abbey in 1131. He also died childless. In their mother's charter their order is Roger, Walter, and Robert. 5, Richard, Abbot of Ely, died 1107. There were also two daughters, who married Raoul de Tillieres, and Baudry le Teuton of Balgenzio.

Rohaise married, secondly, Eudo Dapifer, the reputed builder of Colchester Castle, and founder of St. John's Abbey there, where she is buried.

Gislebert, mostly styled "de Tonbridge", but "Comes de Clara" in his son's charter to Bury Abbey. He also held his father's conquest in Cardigan, and had Aberystwith. His English predecessor Ælfric, son of Withgar, had founded a chapel dedicated to St. John Baptist, with seven secular canons, in the Castle of Clare, whom this Earl replaced by monks from Bec. He married Alix, daughter of Rainald, Comte de Clermont in Beauvoisis, a benefactor to Thorney Abbey. They had:—1, Richard. 2, Gilbert, called Strongbow, who reconquered Cardigan, and inherited Chepstow and broad lands in Monmouthshire from his uncles Roger and Walter. He was created Earl of Pembroke in 1138. He died 1148, and was buried at Tintern. By Elizabeth, sister of Waleran, Comte de Meulan,

who, says Anselm, had been mistress to Henry I, he had Richard Strongbow, the celebrated invader of Ireland, and ancestor, in the female line, of the Mareschals, Earls of Pembroke. 3, Walter de Sap. 4, Hervé. 5, Baldwin, who adhered to Stephen's cause, and with his brother Richard witnessed the Conqueror's charter to Bury Abbey (?), and gave to the monks of Bec, Palletune juxta Sap (*N. Mon.*, vi,—). 6, Louise, married Raoul, Seigneur de Coldon, living 1113.

RICHARD Fitz-Gilbert, Earl of Clare, created Earl of Hertford. Clare seems to have been one of these personal earldoms like Warrene, Ferrars, and Giffard, which did not represent a county, and was not even annexed to land, for although Clare was a manor and afterwards an honour, it does not seem ever to have been regarded as a territorial earldom. In the return in the *Black Book* of the Exchequer, the Earl of Clare prefixes his return "Carta de Honore Clar", without mention of himself. When it became the custom to adopt a surname, Gislebert or Richard Fitz-Gislebert, Comes, became gradually known by that of the chief seat of his power, and it is probable that his correct designation would have been, not "Comes de Clara", but "Gislebert de Clara, Comes".

The title of Hertford was altogether different. This was a regular earldom, representing a county, and endowed with the third penny from the issues of the county. Why that title was selected is unknown, for Hertford town and castle did not belong to the family, nor were they specially interested in the shire. Indeed, they seem to have held at that time but one manor in it, that of St. Wandon; nor were they even sheriffs, for that office was held by the De Magnavilles. The third penny, however, had nothing to do with land. It was a grant by patent from the Crown, and not entered upon by seizin. It was the official fee of the English earls before the Conquest. The date of the creation of the earldom of

Hertford is uncertain, but the reservation of the third penny in the fee-farm rents paid by the sheriff of the county shows it to have been either late in the reign of Henry I, or very early in that of Stephen. As to the limitation, the patent for the earldom is not extant, but possibly it would be held now that, like that of Oxford, it was confined to the heirs male of the body, because, on the death of Gilbert de Clare in 1314, his sisters did not take it. Gloucester, however—almost a contemporary title—descended, as has been seen, on three occasions to heirs female, and by the courtesy of England, was assumed by their husbands, Earls Almaric, De Magnaville, and De Clare. King John, who assumed the title with the junior co-heiress, is said to have been created Earl of Gloucester, but that this was unnecessary is clear, for D'Evreux and De Clare, whose mothers were the other sisters, successively bore, and the latter transmitted, the title. Nevertheless, on the death of Gilbert de Clare, Gloucester, like Hertford, was held to be extinct. The Despensers, husband and son of the elder co-heir, did not claim it, and Audley, the husband of the next co-heir, obtained it only by a new creation, as did a more remote Despenser. It seems, therefore, that the practice had changed, and that earldoms which had formerly passed with heirs female did so no longer. It must be remembered, with respect to the earldom of Hertford, that there had been no early opportunity of proving its limitation, as the male line had never failed.

Earl Richard seems to have paid much attention to his South Wales possessions, and he, like his grandsire, met with his death from the natives, it is said from Morgan ap Owen, in the disturbances that broke out after the death of Henry I, in 1135. His death is supposed to have occurred in 1139; so that his enjoyment of the title of Hertford must have been brief. He was buried at St. Neot's. He married Christiana, sister of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, whose name, unknown to Dugdale, occurs in her husband's charter to Bury

Abbey. They had—1, Gilbert; 2, Roger, successively Earls; 3, Walter; 4, Alice, who married Cadwaladr, second son of Griffith ap Conan, Prince of North Wales, one of those ill-assorted matches by which the marcher lords sought to consolidate their incohesive power. It must be this Alice of whom Fitz-Stephen says, writing of Earl Roger, "Qui et pulcherrimam totius regni sororem habebat, quam rex aliquando concupierat."

Earl Richard, in 1134, removed the monks of Bec from his castle of Clare to the adjacent hill of Stoke. It appears from an Inspeximus (*Pat.*, 1 *Hen. IV*, *P.S.* m. 25) of the confirmation charter of Henry II, that Earl Richard, son of Earl Gilbert, gave for his services, to Walter Bloet, the vill of Raglan and its appurtenances, to him and his heirs, to be held by the service of one knight's fee.

Gilbert, 4th Earl of Clare and 2nd of Hertford. In 1146 he was a hostage at Stephen's court for his uncle, the Earl of Chester, to whom, however, he fled. He died childless, in 1152, nearly two years before Stephen, and was succeeded by his brother,

Roger, 5th Earl of Clare and 3rd of Hertford. The title of Clare seems gradually to have been dropped, as the family name came into use, and, finally, the Earls are invariably described as of Hertford, and, after the acquisition of the Gloucester lands, as of Gloucester and Hertford, the former title dating from Henry I, the latter from Stephen.

He witnessed a Bury charter, printed in the *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* (i, 589), and there dated 1154, no doubt in error for 1134. Earl Roger married Maud, daughter and heiress of James de Hilary, and by her had Richard, his successor, and Isabel, who married William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, and thus strengthened the tie of blood between two powerful families, whose territorial interests were already also closely connected. Earl Roger seems to have had a son, James, who suffered from some congenital disease, expected to be fatal. The Earl offered 40 marcs to whoever should cure him, but

would not allow an operation. When he was two years old, his mother took him to Becket's shrine, and implored the aid of the martyr; who cured him in three days. This was succeeded by another complaint, of which he was supposed to die, and was laid out. His mother, however, undeterred by the rebukes of the Countess of Warwick, again implored the aid of the martyr, and again with success. (*Bened. Mirac.*, St. Thomæ, p. 255.) Earl Roger married a second wife, whose name is not recorded. He died 1173.

In Earl Roger's time, Becket claimed the Estate and Lewy or Honour of Tunbridge, "pridem a Cantuariensi alienatum ecclesia"; a claim which gave great offence to both king and baronage, and which was resisted, as regarded the castle, by the Earl. The holding of the Lewy seems to have been admitted, but did not satisfy the Archbishop, who, indeed, also claimed Rochester Castle. The question was not finally settled till 1264, when a survey of the Lewy was executed, and the terms of the homage agreed to between Archbishop Boniface and Earl Richard. The Earls held as butlers and sewers, and as stewards, and in the one capacity had the manors of Bradstreet, Vielston, Horsmandene, Melton, and Petter, and in the other, Tunbridge and Handlo. The fees of office allowed by the Archbishops were splendid. The homage seems to have been regularly paid, and often in person, at the enthronization of each Archbishop, and as such is specially noted at those of Archbishops Kilwardby, Peckham and Winchester. It was carried on by the De Clare heiresses, and Hugh d'Audley paid homage to Archbishop Stratford, in 1333, and the Earl of Stafford to Sudbury, in 1375. The last act of homage seems to have been paid to Archbishop Warham, when he entertained Henry VIII and Charles V, at Canterbury, in 1520. On that occasion Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, one of the De Clare heirs, discharged the duties of sewer in person.

RICHARD de Clare, 6th Earl of Clare and 4th of Hertford, witnessed, as Richard Fitz-Gislebert—used

apparently, as a family name,—Henry II's confirmation of the Earldom of Oxford to Aubrey de Vere. He also, as Richard Earl of Clare, witnessed letters by Richard I 20th March 1190, and 17th April 1194, and another document, 7th June 1199. 1st John he married Amice, daughter and co-heir of William, Earl of Gloucester, whose inheritance neither he nor his wife lived to possess. To her, as to her sister Mabel, Henry II gave £100 wedding portion. The marriage took place before the 1st of John, in which year she pleaded that by a precept of the Pope she had been separated from her husband Richard, Earl of Clare, on the ground of consanguinity, and she claimed Sudbury, which had been hers at her marriage (*Abb. Plac.*, p. 25). In the 4th of John she repeated the claim, and 7th and 8th of John claimed the advowson of St. Gregories, Sudbury, which the Prioress of Eton said had been granted to Eton by Earl William, Amice's father (*Ib.*, pp. 51, 92). 15th John, Amice, Countess of Clare, again claimed Sudbury, where she founded a hospital. No doubt the marriage difficulty had been got over by a dispensation from Rome. Earl Richard's seal is extant, and bears the three chevrons, afterwards so widely known in South Wales, and adopted by the Lords of Avan, the Earl's principal Welsh Barons. In his time King Richard divided the Giffard heritage, giving to Earl Richard the caput and estates in England, and to William Mareschal those in Normandy. It is to be remarked that neither heir made any claim to the earldom of Buckingham.

Earl Richard seems to have died in 1217, when, 28th November, Walter Fitz-Henry was to have seizin of his lands in Kent, "salvo rationabili testamento ejusdem Comitis" . . "teste ipso Comite"; probably the young Earl. Similar instructions were sent into other counties. The Earl was buried at Clare. Countess Amice seems to have died before 1226, the date of the death of her nephew Aymaric d'Evreux. Their children were:—1, Gilbert; 2, Richard, killed in London,

24th May 1221, and who probably is the Roger de Clare, Earl Gilbert's brother, who was allowed £12 on the 11th February 1226, for his expenses in the King's service with the Earl of Cornwall in Poitou; 3, Rose, married Roger de Mowbray. The Chronicles state that the daughter of the Earl of Clare in 1217 married Rhys Bahan (Vachan). She may have been a natural daughter.

Gilbert de Clare, 5th Earl of Gloucester and 5th of Hertford, is stated in the Annals of Margam to have taken up the earldom, and to have confirmed the abbey charters in 1227, a statement corroborated by Gilbert's witnessing, as Earl of Gloucester, in 1128, the declaration that the signature of Henry III to public documents should not be valid until he came of age. Also, 25th January 1218, Hugh de Vivonne was ordered to give up the forest of Keynsham to the Earl of Gloucester, and, probably in consideration for his "regni novitas", the Barons of the Exchequer were "ponere in respectu" the Earl's scutage then due, until after Easter.

With his paternal possessions and those of his mother Amice, Earl Gilbert inherited those of his grandmother Maud de St. Hilary, and a moiety of the Honour of Giffard. The inheritance, as shown by his scutages, 7th Henry, extended into nineteen counties. As early as 12th John he fortified Builth Castle, and took an active part against the King. He was one of the twenty-five barons excommunicated by Pope Innocent in 1215, but at this time he was a party to the negotiations for peace, and 9th November had a safe conduct from the King, which was repeated 27th March 1216, after the fall of Colchester. He sided with the barons at Lincoln 20th May 1217, and was taken prisoner by his kinsman the Earl Mareschal, who afterwards married him to his daughter and eventual co-heir Isabel, a lady whose personal attractions probably made the young captive a willing suitor. The Annals of Tewkesbury give 1214 as the date of the

marriage, but this is almost certainly an error. In 1216 (?) he was assessed for a relief at £100 for each of his Honours of Gloucester and Clare, and at £50 for his half Honour probably of Giffard, the reliefs being levied on each Honour as on a Barony, without reference to its actual value, since Clare contained 140 fees and Gloucester over 327. He was also assessed upon his lordship of Glamorgan, which then contained 27½ fees, of which William de Kardiff held one; John le Sor, 14; Thomas de la Mare, 10; and Thomas Blund half a fee. Probably, however, some of these holdings were in England, for most of the Glamorgan barons held also of the Honour of Gloucester.

In 1218, died Clement, Abbot of Neath, to whom succeeded Gervais; and 12th November, died Henry, Bishop of Llandaff, who was succeeded, October 1219, by William, Prior of Goldcliff. The Earl much desired to recover the family possession of Bristol Castle, and Hugh de Vivonne was directed to restore to him the berton of Bristol, the wood of Furcas, and the chase of Keynsham. This however, though the King's officer, he refused to do until he was provided with the means of maintaining the castle, for which the council had promised him £100 in rent and 100 marcs in silver, nothing of which he had as yet received. The order was repeated over and over again, "multitoties", in the course of 1219-20, but without effect. The Earls of Gloucester never recovered Bristol Castle.

25th November 1218. Earl William de Magnaville and Earl Gilbert were allowed to settle, by a concord, a question relating to lands which they held together in wardship, and which evidently arose out of the affairs of Magnaville's brother Geoffrey. 6th Henry III, 1221-2, Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, is ordered not to go to Wales to take the castle of Dinas Powis, as the King had sent Robert de Vallibus to receive and deliver it to the Earl. This was on the death of Somery, Baron of Dudley, who was Lord of Dinas Powis, and was evidently an attempt by the King to

obtain "primer seisin" in Glamorgan. In the next year, 14th March 1223, the Earl Mareschal's bailiffs had a safe conduct from Henry de Chetham to go to Dinas Powis. The Earl paid scutage about this time for a Welsh expedition, and in 1224 the Welsh invaded Glamorgan, killing certain farm servants and a shepherd's boy. Morgan ap Owen burned a house, belonging to Neath Abbey, with above 400 sheep, and killed several farm servants, and dangerously wounded a monk and some lay brethren. In 1223-4, 8th Henry III, the Earl had a safe conduct to attend the King. 15th July 1224, he was to have four dolia of the King's best wine, at cost price; an order repeated the same day, in the Close Rolls; and 23rd September, he was to have five dolia more from the wine retained at Bristol.

1st January 1225, the Earl is to have from the Sheriff of Gloucester £20, as his ancestors had, "nomine comitatus", evidently a part of the third penny, as the Sheriff of Herts received a similar precept.

13th February, he is to have from the Constable of Kenilworth one hundred "bresnas" [wether sheep ?] for his vivaries at Tewkesbury, "et de Shepton instaurand". A messenger despatched to him by the King, cost 12*d.* 28th August, the Bailiffs of Caermarthen are to allow the Earl to hold the lands, late of Thomas de Londres, of which he has the wardship, with his daughter. This was probably as chief Lord of Ogmore. Eva de Tracy had her dower out of the De Londres lands, in Wilts. Wardships and their sale were a great source of the royal power and income, and Earl Gilbert, 3rd October, has that of the heirs of Walter de Tailly, with the maritagium; and Waleran Teutonicus, and Sybil his wife, are to give up the daughter.

In 1226 the Welsh burned St. Nicholas, Newcastle, and Laleston, and killed certain men. 29th October, the Earl paid 2,000 marcs for licence to marry his daughter Amice, then six years old, to Baldwin de

Redvers, and £200 in land was allowed out of the estates of William, Earl of Devon, Baldwin's grandfather, presumably for her sustenance, until she came of age. In this year, 2nd November, the Earl's daughter Isabel was born. A joint messenger, sent by the King to the Earl and the Earl of Chester, cost 15*d*. In this year the Earl joined the Earl of Cornwall against the King.

In 1227, 16th February, William, Earl of Devon, was dead, and the Earl had licence to hold his lands. In this year the Welsh burned the Margam grange of Pennuth, with many animals, and killed many men; also the grange of Rossaulin, with many sheep, and drove away eleven cows, and killed a farm servant. Also they cleared the grange of Theodore of animals, and burned several horses and great flocks of sheep, the property of Margam. 4th May, Richard, the Earl's brother, was killed in London. His violent death led to reprisals upon several of the King's servants. On the 18th, the Earl's son, William, was born. Kenfig was burned by lightning, and a horse killed. In this year also the Earl captured Morgan Gam of Avan, and sent him, fettered by the feet, into England for security. This was mild treatment compared with what Morgan ap Cadwaladr met with, in the same year, from his nephew, Howel ap Meredith, who put out his eyes, and otherwise mutilated him. Notwithstanding the line taken by the Earl, he seems to have kept on some sort of terms with the Court, for, 4th September, he is one of the Lords accredited to the princes of the Empire, at Antwerp. Howel ap Meredith, in 1229, burned St. Nicholas and St. Hilary. In that year Morgan Gam was set free, giving hostages for his conduct, which, however, did not prevent him from burning Neath in 1231. In this year the Earl is said to have discovered mines of silver, lead, and iron, in Wales. The two former have never proved profitable; the latter were well known to, and, to some extent, worked by, the Romans. 15th Henry III, the Abbot of Margam paid 100*s*. for having his charter confirmed.

In 1230 Henry made a disastrous expedition into Brittany, and of the magnates who attended him, many, says Wikes, died before his return, and some after it. Among the latter was Earl Gilbert, who died at Penros in Brittany, 25th October 1230. His funeral was conducted with great state. The corpse was landed at Plymouth and brought across Devon and Somerset to Cranbourn, and thence to Tewkesbury, large doles being given to the poor on the road as it passed, and silken cloths, "panni cerici", to the religious houses. The procession reached Tewkesbury on the Saturday before St. Martin's Day, and on Sunday the corpse was laid, temporarily, in its sepulchre before the high altar. The final burial was witnessed by the Abbots of Tewkesbury, Tintern, Flaxley, Keynsham, and Tureford (?) and an immense assemblage of persons of both sexes, lay and clerical. The Earl seems to have left two wills, one dated Suwick-super-Mare, 30th April, and the other in Brittany, 23rd October; both in the year of his death. To Tewkesbury he bequeathed a silver-gilt cross; and, during the minority of his son, the wood of Muth, by Severn side, which was confirmed by Henry III in 1232, and reverted to the earldom in 1243. The monks laid a stone over his grave.

In the *Monasticon* (*N. M.*, vi, 453) is a confirmation by Earl Gilbert to Keynsham of a burgage in Cardiff, "which was Goye's", and another which had belonged to John Fitz-Baldwin, and of the whole park, fishing, and fishery of Rumeya (Rhymny), and both the vivaries of Raz (Roath), with the mill and great vivary under Kibwr, and all the land of Raz, and all the forest of Kibwr, to be held as under Earl William, the grantor's grandsire.

The children of Gilbert and Isabel were:—1, Richard; 2, William, born 18th May 1228, knighted in London at Christmas, 1250; 3, Gilbert, born 12th September 1229, a Clerk in Orders; 4, Amice, married Baldwin de Redvers; 5, Agnes; 6, Isabel, born 2nd

November 1226, married, May 1240, Robert de Bruce of Annandale, who died 1295.

Countess Isabel married, secondly, 30th March 1231, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, much against the will of the King, his brother. She was, says Wikes, a woman of marvellous beauty. She was known as Isabel, Countess of Gloucester and Hertford, Cornwall and Poitou, and she died in childbirth at Berkhampstead, 17th January 1239 or 1240, and her mortal spoils were divided between three communities; her bowels went to Missenden; her heart, in a gilded urn, to Tewkesbury;

"Pars melior toto fuit......pro corpore missa"

was the Tewkesbury view of the partition. The body went to Beaulieu. She founded a chantry for Earl Gilbert and herself at Market Street, and Earl Richard founded one for her at Wallingford. Her will disposed of a curious collection of relics. Her epitaph at Tewkesbury, where she herself had always wished to be buried, was as follows:—

Postrema voto legavit cor Comitissa:
Pars melior toto fuit huc pro corpore missa.
Hæc se divisit, Dominum recolendo Priorem
Huc cor quod misit, verum testatur amorem—
Hiis simul Ecclesiæ sanctæ suffragia prosint,
Ut simul in requie cœlesti cum Domino sint.

The ancestors of Earl Gilbert had, for eight generations, been very considerable persons, both in Normandy and England; and their next of kin, of the line of Strongbow, now represented through a female by the Earls Mareschal, were scarcely their inferiors in power. Their other cousins, who continued in the male line as Barons Fitz-Walter, also held large estates, and had at that time reached the climax of their power in the person of Robert Fitz-Walter, styled by King John's barons "Marshal of the army of God and the holy Church." The De Clares were also allied by marriage to the Earls of Chester and other leading nobles. Besides all these

sources of power, Earl Gilbert had received a great accession in the large inheritance derived from his mother, making him, by the bend sinister, which was then scarcely regarded as a discredit, of near kin to the sovereign, and endowing him not only with the valuable Honour of Gloucester, but with the Lordship of Glamorgan; the privileges of which were of a regal character, and the position of which, securing to him an almost impregnable retreat, gave him great weight in the perpetual struggles between the Baronage and the Crown. From this time the house of Clare became the acknowledged head of the Baronage. Great personal qualities, such as those possessed by the elder William Mareschal or by Simon de Montfort, brought them at times to the front; but for steady hereditary influence, supported, on the whole, by moderation of conduct, and always by great personal valour in the field, no family at all approached to that of the Earls of Gloucester and Hertford.

THE

# EARLS OF GLOUCESTER AND HERTFORD.

---

RICHARD de Clare, 6th Earl of Gloucester and 6th of Hertford, was born 4th August 1222, and was therefore a little over eight years old at his father's death, 25th October 1230. His wardship was granted to Hubert de Burgh, then Justiciary, who had married the young Earl's great-aunt, then, however, some years deceased. In addition to the wardship, De Burgh, 26th November 1230, had a grant of the homage and service of John de Braose for his Honour of Gower, described as held of the Honour of Caermarthen and Cardigan; which tenure however was never admitted by the Lords of Gower (*P. Roll*, 15th Henry III, m. 7). William de Goldcliff, Bishop of Llandaff, died before the Earl, 12th January 1229, when the custody of the bishopric was given to Maurice, archdeacon, and Ivor, a canon of Llandaff, and 23rd February, seisin of the lands was given to the Earl, the Earl Mareschal, and John de Braose, under whom the bishops held manors in different parts of the diocese. Elias, Treasurer of Hereford, was confirmed, 30th August 1230, in the vacant See.

At Michaelmas, Abbot Peter of Tewkesbury took seizin of their moiety of the Church of Llandir, probably Llantwit-major, which William, parson there, formerly held. After much dispute between the Abbot and the Welsh parishioners, some of whom wished that William's brother should succeed, the Abbot gave way, but took a charge of eleven marcs yearly, the Abbey retaining a chapel attached to the church, to indicate possession. It was provided that if the farm

rent was not paid to the day, the tenant should lose his tenement for ever.

In 1231, 2nd June, Ralph Mailoc, a local celebrity in Glamorgan, died. A little after this, in 1266, the Abbot of Neath acknowledges from Sir William Mayloc, the land of Bluntesmore in the fee of Ogmore, to be let in farm to Sir William on the same terms that he held it from Peter Blundus. Thomas, Dean of Hereford, Peter, Abbot of Tewkesbury, Maurice, Archdeacon of Llandaff, Master B., Rector of Thornbury, and others, met at Striguil to arrange respecting the Church of Llanblethian which Mailoc had held of Tewkesbury, and which by the Court of Rome and the confirmation of the Bishop had been granted to be held impropriate. It had been given away by the Bishop, although shortly before he had already granted it to a chaplain, who, however, renounced, and accepted a vicarage from the Abbot.

About Michaelmas, the monks sent Brother Eustace to receive seizin of Llanblethian Church, which Mailoc had held. He found the church locked and the key carried off to the mountains; so he took seizin in the porch, and protested against this invasion of the privileges of the Abbey. The Welsh replied to this by taking him prisoner on the highway, and keeping him three days in the mountains. In rejoinder, the Bishop excommunicated the wrong-doers generally, and laid the matter before Hubert de Burgh, the custos. The Abbot, also, in presence of his monks, excommunicated a certain J. Grant, probably of Sigginston, who had laid hands on Eustace. No doubt the resistance to the Abbot's claim was encouraged by the concurrent invasion by Llewelyn, who attacked Brecknock, descended upon Caerleon, and thence retired across the hills to Neath, where he laid siege to the castle, which was surrendered about 29th June. Aided by Morgan Gam, of Avan, he burned the town, levelled the castle, and extorted 60 marcs from Margam. All this seems to have been provoked by the violation of an existing

truce; for 20th February 1232, the King writes to assure Llewelyn that he has, by his brother Earl Richard, ordered that the infraction of the truce by Richard Siward be made good.

De Burgh fell in July 1232, and was displaced as custos 15th August; and 10th September Peter de Rivaux has a patent of custody of the castles of Cardiff and Newport, and of those generally of Glamorgan, Cardigan, and Caermarthen. 17th October Henry de Turberville is custos of the lordship of Glamorgan, and 19th December Ra. de Hurle is to receive the issues of the lands, etc., of Glamorgan and Wentlloog, and the custody of Cardiff, Newport, and Newcastle. Peter remained in power till 1235, giving great dissatisfaction. Just before De Burgh retired, 13th April 1232, the King allowed the young Earl's claim "de collatione baculi," as to Tewkesbury; and De Burgh, in consequence, gave the monks leave to elect an Abbot, who was confirmed by the King. This was the Abbot who leased the "Gurges" or pool of Cardiff for five years to Henry the Chaplain. Fishing seems then as now to have been a sport allowed to the clergy. The same claim was allowed for Keynsham. It seems to have been usual to allow to the representatives of the founder the privilege of collating to an abbey, but a license for its exercise was necessary. Thus, 16th April 1200, John granted to Wm. Earl Mareschal the privilege of bestowing the pastoral staff of Nutley, in Bucks, an abbey founded by Walter Giffard, but within the Earl's fee.

In 1232 Llewelyn again invaded Glamorgan, and attacked Kenfig. The cattle had been removed, and to clear the way for the defence, the people burned a part of the town within, that is to say close to, the gates. The Welsh, on their part, led by Morgan Gam, burned what was outside the walls, and attacked the castle keep, then only defended by a hedge and a ditch. They were then driven off, and fled to the hills. It was observed that on this occasion, they spared the lands of the Church.

Events were now ripe for the breaking out of the war between the King and the Earl of Pembroke. Earl Richard Mareschal, a scholar and a soldier, a moderate and an honest man, "murus inter dominum regem et magnates", had just succeeded his brother William; and, forbearing as he was, found himself driven to oppose in arms the King's violence and imprudence. The dissatisfaction was very general, and broke out in Monmouth and Glamorgan in a civil war, which, continued by De Montford and the Earl of Gloucester, led to the battles of Lewes and Evesham, and the siege and ban of Kenilworth. The services of De Burgh were forgotten, and Henry was inflamed with jealousy against that great statesman, who, always loyal to the Crown, and succeeding Pandulph as minister, had composed the Irish war, quelled the discontent in Gascony, kept Llewelyn and the Welsh within moderate bounds, razed Bedford Castle, exiled De Breautê, and procured the Bull declaring Henry of full age, upon which the royal castles had been surrendered to him by the Lords who had held them during the minority. De Burgh was ill exchanged for Peter des Roches, an ecclesiastic of violent and dangerous counsels, a foreigner, and intensely unpopular. In 1232 the Abbot of Tewkesbury had a royal writ to receive his accustomed payment from the Honour of Cardiff; and another writ, 24th May 1233, for Peter de Rivaux, was addressed to Ranulph de Hurle, bailiff of Glamorgan. Both, therefore, were still in office.

Among the disaffected in Glamorgan were Philip Basset, whom the King had deprived of a manor given him by King John; and Richard Siward, a bold and distinguished soldier, and one of the Earl of Gloucester's móst turbulent barons. Siward, who owned the castle of Talavan, had married Basset's sister, Philippa, widow of the Earl of Warwick, according to some accounts without the King's license. The Earl, Henry de Newburgh, also Lord of Gower, had died in 1229, and Philippa then paid 100 marcs not to be distrained

to marry, and if she did marry, to have leave to marry any faithful subject. She did marry, before 1st March 1231, Richard Siward, and that this was not then disapproved by the King appears from a writ to the Sheriff respecting certain payments due at the Exchequer. Siward's real offence seems to have been his attachment to the Earl Mareschal, and his opposition to Bishop des Roches.

Henry summoned the Barons to a meeting at Oxford 24th June 1233, which the Earl Mareschal and his friends decided to decline to obey, as they did a further summons for the 11th July. They further informed the King that unless he dismissed his foreign advisers they would renounce their allegiance. Henry had laid hands on and had destroyed the castles of some of the Earl Mareschal's followers and had given their lands to his alien relations. On the 1st July, the barons met the King in London, but as the Earl Mareschal, warned by his sister, feared treachery, he turned back at Woodstock and rode to Wales. Nothing was decided at the meeting. Henry then summoned his military tenants to Gloucester for the 15th August. As Earl Richard was again absent, he and his adherents were proscribed as traitors, the Earl's lands were seized and laid waste, especially, 2nd November, his house and gardens in Worcestershire, and a day was named for his trial. Henry, evidently looked for support among the mixed English and Welsh in the rear of the Earl Mareschal's head-quarters, for 6th August is issued a writ to the bailiffs of Bristol stating that, "Although the King has directed them not to let any victuals be taken from their town, yet they are to allow the men of Cardiff, Swansea, and Carmarthen to do so, they giving security not to take them elsewhere." The King's proscription caused the Earl Mareschal to close an alliance with Llewellyn, offensive and defensive, each party swearing not to make peace without the consent of the other. The Earl of Cornwall took part with the insurgents. Henry having received an acces-

sion of force at Gloucester, crossed the Severn, and marched on Hereford. His object seems to have been to attack from the west the Earl Mareschal's chief castle of Chepstow, and his plan to descend the valley of the Usk, taking advantage of the support of John of Monmouth, to whom belonged that town and castle, and of Morgan of Caerleon, who held the lowlands of Gwent, and thus to interpose between the Earl, who lay westwards near Cardiff, and his sister Margaret de Braose and Walter de Clifford, who held Abergavenny and Builth, and the country and strong places of Irchenfield, west of Hereford. In executing this plan he descended the right bank of the Usk, and at Usk laid siege to the castle, which was found to be so strong that the King offered terms. What actually took place is doubtful; the general, though not very probable, account is that the King asked for the surrender of the castle to save the royal credit, and pledged himself to restore it uninjured in fifteen days; to which the Earl agreed, and gave up the place, which, however, the King retained, breaking faith. Henry entered Usk about the 1st September, and this success, however obtained, was the first important feature in the campaign. In the castle he placed Henry de Turberville, an eminent captain, who had been seneschal of Gascony, and who was ordered to give up the stores therein contained, an order certainly given, and which seems scarcely consistent with this alleged breach of faith. Moreover, the surrender of Usk was followed, 8th September, by the establishment of a truce, settled at Abergavenny, the terms of which were, however, construed very differently by the King and by the Earl. 12th September, Henry was at Hereford, whence he directed the Vicecomes of Cardiff to restore all the booty taken on the Earl Mareschal's lands, and called on the Earl and Morgan of Caerleon to do the same, a summons which does not seem to have been obeyed. The King retired to England, promising concessions, and summoned a meeting for the 2nd October. Here

Earl Richard's friends demanded his trial by his peers, a right denied by Bishop Peter, who thus placed himself in opposition to the whole baronage.

Meantime, the Earl was under arms, and by the aid of Philip Basset and Siward, De Burgh was rescued, it would seem against his will, from the Devizes, and brought in safety by way of Aust to Chepstow. The *Oseney Chronicle* says Siward put arms into his hands and brought him away "nobili vehiculo". Wykes gives a more circumstantial detail, and says he escaped from the castle by night, being let down from the window-grate by napkins and towels, when he took sanctuary in a church on the outer edge of the castle ditch, whence he was rescued by Siward and Bassett. 20th September, the King wrote to Richard Mareschal no longer to harbour Siward and his fellows, but Siward was far too useful to be disavowed.

Henry bid high for the support of the young Earl of Gloucester's tenants, writing from Ledbury, 2nd December, to Reymund de Sully, a principal Glamorgan Lord, as the Close Roll, 15th December 1233, states: "Rex significat Rey: de Sully quod bene placet regi quod ipse et alii probi homines de partibus suis veniat ad fidem et servitium regis dum tunc securitatem faciat de bono et fideli servitio, etc."

2nd December, Henry laid hands on Siward's lands at Chedworth and Brailes. Also, 3rd November, the lands at South Moulton and Marshfield, of Gilbert de Turberville of Coyty, had been seized, and given to Herbert Fitz-Matthew; those of Roger Berkerolles in Somerset were given to Ralph de Hurle, who died before 22nd Henry III, and was succeeded as Bailiff of Glamorgan by Toran de Hurle. The lands of John le Sor at Alwrington went, 7th November, to William Bloet; of William de Somery in Somerset to William de Boils; those of Simon and Richard de Pincerna in Devon to Simon de Sleland; those of Gilbert de Umfreville at Court-Labeford to Roger la Suche; those of David Basset in Wernford to Philip Choatte. Those of Wil-

liam de Barry in Devon, of Thomas de Sanford in Berks, of John de St. John, William and John de Regny, Peter le Butiler, Thomas de Hawey, and William le Fleming, were also taken; and even Reymund de Sully did not escape, his lands at Alsiston being given to de Boils. All this shows the close connection in property between the holders of fees in Glamorgan, and of those in the counties of Somerset and Devon.

Cardiff Castle seems to have been held for the King, as Warene Basset, one of the Earl's partisans, was killed in an assault upon it, 15th October 1233, and was buried at Llandaff, 21st October. The Earl was then at Cardiff, having burned Monmouth. 17th November, he defeated the King at Grosmont, where Hugh de Sanford was killed, and forced the barons and knights of Glamorgan, and the burgesses of Cardiff, to give hostages for their good behaviour. Henry again offered terms, which the Earl, then at Margam, refused, and his adherents kept up a harrassing war from Newport and Cardiff against the shipping of Bristol. Towards Christmas, Siward harried the lands of the Earl of Cornwall, an offence never forgiven. Nevertheless, 7th January 1234, the Countess of Warwick was allowed to go to the Marches of Wales, to her husband, R. Siward.

The Earl Mareschal's position, west of Chepstow, was not without its dangers. The actual Lord of Glamorgan was a minor, and in the King's hands, and the war was by no means popular with the people, who had everything to lose, and nothing to gain by it. The knights and barons who, with their tenants, formed the military strength of the lordship could not afford to give a steady support to the Earl, as almost all held fees of considerable value in Devon, Somerset, or Gloucester, all in the King's power. That many of them were disposed to listen to the King is made probable by his letter above quoted, and all the English settlers in Wales must have been alarmed at the Earl Mareschal's intimacy with the Welsh; and, indeed, it appears from

one of Henry's letters to Llewelyn, 22nd August 1234, that there was a report that the Earl had gone so far as to grant to Morgan Gam and other Welshmen lands which belonged to the Earl of Gloucester.

Towards the end of 1233, Bishop Peter seems to have created a diversion in Ireland, where the Earl Mareschal had a great interest, acquired by his ancestor Strongbow, and whither he went, in consequence, leaving the conduct of the Welsh war to De Burgh, Siward, and Philip Basset. In Ireland the Earl was mortally wounded, and died a prisoner at Kildare, 15th April 1234. Meantime, and probably before the news reached England, the Earl's partisans were active. Siward scoured Berkshire, and under cover of Windsor Forest made the country unsafe, and threatened the Exchequer messengers who carried money, 29th April. A little later, 2nd May, the King informs the Sheriff of Gloucester that in the way from Wallingford to Reading, Siward had seized the baggage of Stephen de Segrave, De Burgh's enemy and successor. The Sheriffs, however, were foiled, and Siward reached Wales in safety. Thos. Siward, his nephew, was taken at Hereford, as was St. Philibert, another nephew, 10th May.

The Earl Mareschal's death left the party without a leader, and the war ceased, although the position of the insurgents enabled them to secure excellent terms, which included Llewelyn, De Burgh, Siward, and their followers. Bishop des Roches was dismissed from power. 17th May 1234, the men of Glamorgan were referred to Henry de Turberville for the terms on which they might be admitted to the King's peace; and 26th May, the King, by documents entered on the Close Rolls formally laid aside his indignation against Gilbert Mareschal, Hubert de Burgh, Richard Siward, Gilbert and Philip Basset, William Crass, H. de Barry, William of Christchurch, and Richard de St. John, and by an entry on the Patent Roll, 25th May, they were pardoned. Thos. Siward was released, and on the 18th May and 3rd June, Richard Siward was actually placed

in charge of Glamorgan, to which, 17th July, Swansea was added; and that this carried the lordship of Gower with it, appears from a precept on the Close Roll informing Siward that because the King understands that the "maritagium" of Agnes, daughter and heir of William Mara, pertains to Margaret de Braose as part of her dower, the £100 fine which Robert de Penris made for her with Peter de Rivaux is to be paid over to Margaret. Rivaux had evidently usurped the "maritagium" from Margaret, and Siward as custos is to redress the wrong.

With the rest, the King extended his favour to the Barons of the Honour of Gloucester, Roger Berkerolles, Roger de Hide, Gilbert de Turberville, Richard Pincerna, William Flandrensis, Wydo Wak, and Hoel son of Archid, the two bailiffs of Swansea, Reymund de Sully, John de St. John, and Gilbert de Umfreville. 17th July, Richard Lelande was ordered to inspect the lands held by H. de Burgh as guardian of the Earl of Clare, and to report how they had been held by Peter de Rivaux and Richard Passelewe. This seems to have been preparatory to the handing them over to a new guardian. Siward's appointment was in fact temporary, and 23rd January 1235, he had a safe conduct to surrender the lordship to Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, who was admitted 28th February, and having been allowed the title and estates of his late brother, Richard Mareschal, was, 11th June, girded with the sword of the earldom. For the wardship of his nephew, and the lordship of Glamorgan, during the remainder of the minority, he fined 500 marcs. This acquisition placed the whole seaboard from Chepstow to Pembroke and Aberystwith, Gower alone excepted, in the hands of Earl Gilbert. Among those now restored were John de St. Quintin, who was to have his castle of Llanblethian and other lands in Glamorgan, Peter le Botiller, Thomas de Hawey, Thomas de Saundford, John de Reyny, Robert Fitz-Payn, Richard le Butiller, Jordan de Aunteston, Maurice de Cantilupe,

William de Barry, and William de Reyny. Also, as part of the general amnesty, the men of Bristol were to let those of Swansea have the wine that had been seized; and the Abbot of Margam's ship was to be given up to John, the cellarer of that house. Neither were the burgesses of Bristol to vex those of Swansea by requiring of them customs' dues contrary to King John's charter and its confirmations. 9th June 1235, the Abbot of Neath had a license to send ships to England to trade. The amnesty extended to Ireland, and 7th November 1235, Milo de Rochford, taken in the war with Richard Earl Mareschal in Ireland, was to be released.

Soon after, 12th March 1236, Ralph of Newcastle, having scruples of conscience about the source whence he received his church, renounced it before the chapter of Llandaff, and again accepted it as a free gift from the Abbot of Tewkesbury. 22nd April, the same Abbot and convent gave to Elias, Bishop of Llandaff, the church of Lanederne, retaining the tithes of Lambordan for the use of the priors of Cardiff, to whose sustenance they belonged. About the same time the Bishop and chapter confirmed to the same Abbot all the ecclesiastical benefices he held in the diocese. 4th July, Richard Siward seems again to have given offence, for he was taken at Gloucester, though soon afterwards set free.

According to Matthew Paris, one of Henry's grievances against De Burgh was that he had married his daughter Margaret to Earl Richard, the King's ward, and a minor, without the leave of the King, who seems to have intended to marry him to his own niece, a Provençal. Hubert denied this, and said he had no knowledge of the matter. A curious account of the whole affair is recorded in the Close Roll of the 22nd Henry III, and extracted by Sir Duffus Hardy, whence it appears that, the day after Michaelmas 1238, the King had Hubert before him at Eccles, and called on him to resign all claim to the marriage of Richard de Clare,

that being one of the conditions of his pardon. Hubert took time to answer, and, finally, met the King at Kennington, where he stated that after the reconciliation at Gloucester, Henry led him to the altar and asked him to swear never again to mention the subject of the marriage, which he did, and took no further steps in the matter. On this, however, some of his friends said things had gone so far that the parties ought to be affianced, and the Countess said her daughter was committed, and that a marriage had actually taken place at St. Edmund's, while De Burgh was besieged at Merton. The matter was never quite cleared up, but Hubert does not appear to have been to blame, whatever may have been the case with his countess. He nevertheless had to make his peace by promising a sum of money to the King.

Margaret seems to have died soon afterwards, in November 1237. The matter is obscure, and De Burgh's statement is supported by the fact that the King sold the Earl's "maritagium", 26th October 1237, to John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, for 3000 marks, and the remission of a debt of 2000 more, but this was subject to a power of cancelling the agreement, if by transferring the "maritagium" there should be any chance of bringing the Comte de la Marche to the King's party. This was not acted upon. The bride was the Earl of Lincoln's eldest daughter, Maud de Lacy, and the marriage took place 2nd February 1238, when the Earl was about sixteen years old, and seems, from an entry on the Patent Rolls, to have had opinions of his own, not at that time specially favourable to the royal cause.

26th August 1237, died John de Goldcliff, Abbot of Margam, and was succeeded by John la Ware. 8th March 1238, was a suit between Richard Fitz-Richard and Thomas de Marini, and the Abbot of Neath, for common of pasture in Horblauton. 30th August, Ralph de Somery, the farmer of the chapel of Cogan, died, and Wm. le Fleming of Glamorgan, led by evil counsels, declared himself attorney for the Lord

Richard de Cogan, presented the son of Wm. de Keymin (Reigny) to the chapel, and summoned by writ of last presentation Robert, Abbot of Tewkesbury, before the comitatus at Cardiff. After much dispute, William was adjudged not to be the attorney.

The year opened with the secret marriage, 7th January 1238, of Simon de Montfort with the King's sister Eleanor, the widow of William Earl Mareschal. This, which soon was known, gave great offence, Simon being then considered in England only as an obnoxious foreigner, while Eleanor had taken vows of chastity. Henry's own conduct, and his readmission of foreigners to power, promoted the general disaffection, and the King's brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, and Richard Earl Mareschal, the leaders of the opposition, were expelled from court. In November the Bishop dedicated altars at Llandaff to the Saints James and Nicholas, and endowed these altars with certain spiritual advantages.

On St. Oswald's day, probably 5th August 1240, being a day over his eighteenth birthday, the young Earl was admitted to be of age for certain purposes, and he redeemed his Glamorgan lands and repaid to his guardian the 500 marcs, the price of his wardship. Dugdale, however, places this transaction in the 19th Henry III, 1234-5. In May 1240, the Earl's daughter Isabel was born, and 13th May died Elias Bishop of Llandaff, and Waleran Teutonicus was put in to administer the temporalities of the see. He also collated to two stalls and the archdeaconry. The chapter then elected Maurice, also archdeacon, to the see, but he was set aside by the King. Next they elected William of Christchurch, who held the seat, but without installation, till 1244, when he resigned, no doubt because disapproved by the King. Finally, another *congé d'élire* was issued, and, 30th July 1246, William de Burgh, a king's chaplain, became Bishop. 23rd May, the Earl of Cornwall and Simon de Montfort left England for Palestine. They were escorted to Marseilles by the French king. During their absence Gilbert

Earl Mareschal died from the effects of an accident. Henry notified his death officially, 29th June 1241, to John de Monmouth, whom he orders to take possession of the Earl's castles of Strigoyl, Usk, and Karelion; and should their keepers make resistance the King is to be informed at once. The Earl was succeeded by Walter the third brother. Henry at first refused him livery of the lands, but at last gave way, and on the Sunday before All Saints he was recognized as Earl Mareschal and of Pembroke. The King, however, resumed the custody of the castles of Cardiff (Caermarthen?) and Cardigan, which Hubert de Burgh and Earl Richard had held. The Welsh had been troublesome, but by August 1241 they were quieted, and 28th August 1242, Henry remitted his displeasure against the Abbot of Margam, who had harboured William de Marisco. In this year died Morgan Gam of Avan, and was buried at Margam. In this year also, 26th Henry III, the Sheriff of Norfolk is ordered to assign a dower to Alice, who had been wife of Roger de Clare, out of the lands which he had held of the heir of Earl Gilbert, now in the King's custody; Alice paid 200 marcs to have the custody of Roger's lands in Middleton and the marriage of the heir. (Abb. Rot. Or., 26th Henry III.) In 1241, Fitz-Hamon's body was translated into the choir at Tewkesbury, and placed on the left of the high altar. 7th August 1242, Gilbert de Sully, vicar of K., died, and 4th September the Abbot of Tewkesbury put in Walter Alured.

25th July 1242, a dispute arose between Howel ap Meredith, Rhys ap Griffith, and Gilbert de Turberville, touching an infraction of the truce in Miscin and Senghenydd. Robert, Abbot of Tewkesbury, William de Cardiff, James de Clare, and others the Earl's friends were sent down to make inquiries. They summoned a "comitatus" at Cardiff, 28th July, took hostages from the Welshmen, and lodged them in Cardiff Castle, and so restored quiet. The Abbot took the opportunity to visit Llanblethian to accept the transfer of the church,

in pursuance of the decree of the prior of Winchcombe, Papal subdelegate. This related to the incumbency and farm of the benefice of which Roger Mailoc, probably a nephew of Ralph, had been deprived for arrears of rent. The see being then vacant, the archdeacon, as ordinary, presented Thomas de Pennarth. The Abbot refused to allow this; upon which Thomas resigned, and accepted the benefice at the hands of the Abbot, with the obventions and profits of the church, excepting the tithe sheaves. On this Roger sued the Abbot before the comitatus. Roger had an uncle Rhys, and was otherwise well supported, so the Abbot offered him a pension of five marcs, which at the Earl's request was raised to six, but still was refused as insufficient. The Abbot, as a safeguard, took letters of protection from the Earl, addressed to the vicecomes.

The Earls returned from the Holy Land early in 1242, but the Earl of Gloucester was probably too young to take part in the fierce discussion that then arose in Parliament, as to assisting the King to recover his foreign possessions. No doubt his sympathies were with his stepfather, the Earl of Cornwall, but nothing is heard of him before the 4th August 1243, when he was of full age. A message was sent to Henry, then on the continent, pressing him to give seizin of the estates by letter. This he declined to do, and the Earl actually had seizin at Winchester 29th August, and, finally, 23rd September, the King accepted his homage. (*Plac. Coron.*, 27th Hen. III.) With his other lands he received those which his mother, the Countess of Cornwall, had held in dower. In this transaction the convent of Tewkesbury became his "fidei jussores" in 300 marcs to the Earl of Cornwall, and in return took a bond of indemnity from the young Earl. A little earlier, the 25th of March, the Abbot of Tewkesbury gave to Rely Morgan a yearly pension of two marcs until he should provide him with a better benefice, and Rely gave up his pension from Llandough, into which he had been inducted by Archdeacon Maurice, his uncle.

2nd September 1243, the Earl's eldest son, Gilbert, was born at Christchurch in Hampshire. It was in this year that Hawise de Londres, heiress of the great Lordships of Kidwelly and Ogmore, married Patric de Chaworth, and laid the foundation of a valuable part of the after Duchy of Lancaster. He fell in battle against the Welsh, at Caermarthen, 7th September 1258. Also in this year J——, Vicar of Dinas Powis, won his cause against Tewkesbury, and 15 marcs costs, and obtained the small tithes. Howel ap Meredith was again in rebellion, and Kenfig was again burned.

On the death, in 1240, of Bishop Elias, the custos claimed for the Earl the right, as chief lord, to take possession of such lands as were held of him by the Bishop. Also, on the death of Archdeacon Maurice, 14th December 1242, the Custos claimed to appoint and put in Ralph of Newcastle, some Canons dissenting, some approving. Ralph held office until the King's proctor objected and nominated, and as the Earl had not as yet had seizin of his lands, it was thought better to submit. 29th March 1244, Thomas, the King's Archdeacon, had a protection, and in July a royal licence allowed the Chapter to elect a Bishop. Meantime, Ralph, when Archdeacon, had appointed a Vicar to the chapel of St. John at Cardiff, against which Prior Ralph de Derby had appealed. The transactions connected with the recent appointment to the see of Llandaff led to a dispute between the King and the Earl; and it appears from the *Placita Coronæ*, that the Earl gave up his claim. R. de Clare came before the King and acknowledged that the "Baculum pastorale" and patronage of the bishopric belonged of right to the King, but a day was named for him to show what it was he claimed. What he did claim was the custody of the lands held of him, and the collation to the prebends and the archdeaconry. The new Bishop, probably soon after taking his seat, appeared before the King, and admitted, very untruly, that he held nothing from any other in his bishopric

save from the King. In 1245, Roger de Somery (of Dinas Powis) has a protection in Wales from the King.

On Whit Sunday, 1244 (?), the Earl seems to have been knighted by the King; and in March 1245, upon the aid for marrying the King's eldest daughter, he was assessed at £261 10*s.* upon 261½ fees, besides 12½ fees in Kent, and £43 for 43 fees, his moiety of the Honour of Giffard. In 1245, the Earl was among those who made a bold attempt before the Council of Lyons to moderate Papal tyranny in England. In this year Henry summoned certain Welsh lords to do homage to him at Westminster, 30th April, and among them the son of Morgan Gam and Howel ap Meredith. The latter had been disseized of his lands by the Earl. 5th February 1245, the Lord Herbert Fitz-Mathew met his death in a certain combe near Avan Castle, crushed by a mass of rock, which broke his neck. A writ of "diem clausit" was issued 7th February, but M. Paris lays the scene in North Wales. Probably it took place in the gorge of the Avan, a mile or so above the castle, which stood on the right bank of the river, close to the church of Aberavan. 1245-6, the bailiffs of Bristol were ordered to seize all the wool purchased by the Ghent merchants from the Abbot of Margam, and to hold it till further orders.

About this time the great House of Mareschal came to an end. Earl Walter died at Goderich Castle, 24th November 1245, and his writ of "diem clausit" was issued 3rd December; and 5th December his brother and successor Anselm, the youngest and the last, also died, and childless. He was buried at Tewkesbury. This death broke up the estate, and left the De Clares without a rival in South Wales. About the same time the Earl proposed to meet Guy de Lusignan, one of the new batch of the King's foreign relations, at a tournament at Dunstable. The King, however, seems to have feared for his half-brother, and forbade the meeting, as he did a later one proposed at Northampton. The Earl granted Petersfield, Mapledurham, and some

other manors to his brother William, and it would seem introduced the Augustine Friars into England. The Welsh also occupied much of his attention. In 1246, he allowed the Tewkesbury Monks a free water-flow, "liberam aqueductam", across his lands. 17th July 1247, Stephen Bawcen, an active soldier connected with Glamorgan, had an allowance of £25 yearly to sustain him in the King's service.

In 1248, more of the King's half-brothers had arrived, and in the midst of the rising discontent the Earl chose to take the part of the foreigners, at a tournament at Brackley, where he aided William de Valence to overthrow William de Odingselles, a Knight of Warwickshire. At Newbury he repeated this conduct, and thereby much offended the Baronage. 21st July, the Earl had a son born, who was named Bevis. In this year he sued the Abbot of Tewkesbury for the advowsons of three churches. The Bishop of Llandaff absolved the Prior of Cardiff from a certain sentence by which he was bound for the Vicarage of Cardiff. The Vicar there had all the money coming into the Chapel of St. John, but had to pay out of it 20*s.* a year to the Prior for the liquor of a Priest at the Prior's table. At Llantwit, the Vicarage had all the "altalagium", or altar dues, with the great and small tithes, except the tithe sheaf of hay, and the tithes of the Chapel of Lysworney. Also the Lord William de Cardiff impleaded the Abbot of Tewkesbury for the land of Lapull, and, in 1250, quit-claimed all his right therein to the Earl and the Abbot. Richard, Prior of Cardiff, died, and Alan de Cornubia succeeded, who also died soon after, when Philip le Leche became Prior. Philip was probably a member of a family at one time holding land in Glamorgan, which probably gave name to the manor and fortified house of Leche Castle in Wenvoe. He died 15th December 1261. The Abbot seems to have indulged in a cross action, for he impleaded De Cardiff concerning a chantry chapel at Walton-Cardiff and a right of way

across his meadow. In 33rd Henry III, Henry de Umfreville accounted for £45 for 9 fees held of the Honour of Gloucester, and Richard de Kerdiff was quitted for 36*s.* 8*d.*

In 1249, the Earl, with the Earl of Cornwall, went beyond sea, and visited the Pope at Lyons and St. Edmund's of Pontigny. Their absence was brief, but included the Easter Parliament. At this time, 33rd Henry III, the Abbot of Margam accounted for five marcs in the Pipe Roll for having an assize, and 12th June 1249, the chapter of Llandaff, under licence, elected John la War, Abbot of Margam, to the see of Llandaff. Nicholas, however, places this election 26th July 1253, in which year he fixes the death of Bishop de Burgh.

In 1250 the Earl officiated as hereditary seneschal and butler at the enthronisation of Boniface of Savoy as Archbishop, according to his tenure of Tonbridge, and in this year also he was invested with the military belt. He, again, had a dispute with Tewkesbury, on this occasion concerning rights of "fossa et furca", pit and gallows, claimed by the Abbot, who was allowed these powers in Wimborne and Cranborne, with a gallows at Cranborne, where he seems very conveniently to have found a subject for his newly admitted justice. This year the Earl visited Compostella, returning 15th July, and bestowed knighthood upon William de Wilton and Peter le Botiler at Harley. In 1250, 29th June, Abbot John resigned Margam, and was succeeded, 22nd September, by Thomas de Perthwaite. In 1251 the Cranborne dispute was revived, the Earl denying the right claimed for the priory as well as the manor of Beveridge. In the claim, power of life and death seem oddly mixed up with common of pasture. It was said that the Abbot had usurped his power during the minority. The Earl asked an aid from his tenants to marry his daughter, but it appeared that no such aid had before been asked for, nor was he prepared to name the bridegroom. It appeared also that he had had a survey

made of his villenages, and had raised the dues. Roger Luvel, the Tewkesbury proctor at Rome, was appointed to act also for the Earl. In 1251-2 the Pipe Roll shows a grant of £40 from the King to Stephen Bawcen. 34th Henry III the King issued a mandate, in the Close Rolls, to the Bailiffs of Kerdiff to permit one whom they had arrested for theft "in the King's Court" to go forth without stopping any of the things stolen.

In 1252, the Earl held his Easter at Tewkesbury, and confirmed to the Chapter of Llandaff half the tithe of the Chapel of Lanternen (Llantarnam) 17th April. The King wished to marry the Earl's son Gilbert, a youth of great promise, to Alice, daughter of Guy Comte d'Angoulêsme, his half-brother, offering with her a portion of 5,000 marcs. The Earl at first accepted, and gave a bond for 10,000 marcs in case he broke off the màtch. He then changed his mind, and sent the Abbot of Tewkesbury and the Prior of Stokes to the King. Meantime he and his son went abroad, it being intended that the youth should win distinction in arms. It was about this time that the Earl interfered to save the credit of his brother William, who had lost horse and arms in a joust. The Earl took his place, recovered the spoils, and brought his brother home with honour towards mid-Lent. He seems also to have visited Gascony, where Simon de Montfort's conduct was the subject of an inquiry. It is said to have been during this visit to the continent that the young Gilbert and William de Valence provoked contempt by their effeminacy, and got worsted at a tournament, a great contrast with the Earl's action on behalf of his brother. At Christmas, 1252, a daughter was born to the Earl at Llantrissant, probably within the castle. In this year also he caused Milo, his chamberlain, to be imprisoned at Usk.

In 1253 the Earl, who was very expert in the use of arms, took part in a tournament abroad. About the 11th July he returned to find that Henry, after a

stormy discussion, had confirmed the public charters with unusual solemnity, under promise of an aid. To this aid the Earl strongly objected, and, as was the custom with the nobles of that day, he spoke his mind to the King very freely, and retired from the presence in great anger. He then paid a short visit to Ireland. In this year, the young Gilbert, born 2nd September 1243, then therefore about ten years old, was contracted, while abroad, to Alice of Angoulêsme, the King's niece. Anselm (*Hist. Geneal., etc.*, iii, 78) describes her as Alasi or Alise de Lezignan, daughter of Hugh le Brun, Comte de la Marche et d'Angoulêsme, by Isabel, widow of King John of England, and daughter and heir of Aymar, Comte d'Angoulêsme. The actual marriage seems to have taken place in 1257. Anselm says she was divorced in 1258, but this, it will be seen, is an error. Also in 1253 Robert Musgrose held the Honour of Gloucester, probably as Sheriff or receiver.

After renewed disputes with the barons concerning foreign service, the King, 7th September 1254, took the Earl with him to Bordeaux, where he was present when Henry conferred Gascony upon Prince Edward, and at the Prince's marriage with Eleanor of Castile. Thence the Earl visited Paris, where were the Kings of France, England, and Navarre. He returned with the King and Queen, by New-Year's Day 1255, to England, where public affairs had become critical. Henry was hopelessly indebted; no money was to be had from his Parliament: even his brother and his son were obliged to protest against his proceedings, and de Montfort, now in England, was in litigation with the Crown about his wife's jointure.

25th May 1255, a proposed tournament at Blythe was forbidden. 10th August, the Earl, fortified with credentials, went to Scotland with John Mansel, the celebrated pluralist, to relieve and, if possible, rescue Henry's sister, the Scottish Queen, then a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle. This he managed successfully, by a mixture of force and address, to the satisfaction of

both her husband and brother. It seems to have been in November of this year that Robert, Abbot of Tewkesbury, died, and the Earl confirmed the choice of Thomas as the new Abbot. The Earl had a dispute with the monks, whom he compelled to follow him to Fairford for a settlement of their claims upon the tithe of Rendcombe. In this or the preceding year, the Earl was paying to the King 640 marcs, being two years' amount of a charge of £80 per annum on the Earl Mareschal's lands in Ireland for the dower of Eleanor the King's sister, and de Montfort's wife. Her share was one-fifth of the income, which therefore must have been £400 per annum. Here the marc is taken at 5*s.* instead of 6*s.* 8*d.* as usual. It was also probably about this time that was drawn up the agreement mentioned by Nash (*Worc.*, ii, 135) between Earl Richard and the Bishop of Worcester concerning Malvern Chase, in which the Abbot of Tewkesbury and Lord William de la Mare acted for the Earl, and among the witnesses to which appear Philip Basset and Stephen Bawcen. It seems that John, Earl of Moreton, in 1196, while Lord of Glamorgan, granted to the Bishop of Worcester licence to assart land in Malvern Forest, and Countess Isabel confirmed the grant. The dispute, however, was by no means settled, and reappears in the reign of Edward I.

12th June 1256, letters of credence were given to the Earl and Robert Walerand, with their suite, addressed to the Princes of Germany. They seem by the Patent Rolls to have left England 22nd June. Their mission was to watch at Frankfort the election of the King of the Romans, in the interest of the Earl of Cornwall, and to adminster bribes to and receive the fealty of the electors, preparatory to the crowning of Richard in the following December. Among the Earl's attendants were John and Robert Turberville and Adam Waleys, all connected with Glamorgan. 29th June 1256, John de la Ware, Bishop of Llandaff, died; and on 30th July William de Radnor was elected Bishop. The

29th June was a remarkable day in Bishop de la Ware's life. On that day he resigned Margam, on that day was elected Bishop, and on that day he died. In the same year the Earl founded the house of the Black Friars, outside the west gate of Cardiff. 7th November, Richard Siward of Talavan was dead, and his twice widowed wife, Ela, Countess of Warwick, had married Philip Basset. In this year Prince Edward received from John de Monmouth the Castle and Honour of Monmouth in fee. Henry also invested him with regal powers in Ireland, and the Earl of Gloucester did him homage for his land there.

In 1257, Henry seems also to have transferred the conduct of Welsh affairs to the Prince, who laid on a tax which excited Llewelyn ap David to take up arms. Griffith ap Rhys had died 11th June 1256. The Earl, whom M. Paris calls a dear friend to the King, was in command of the royal forces in Glamorgan and Pembroke, and generally in South Wales. It was in this somewhat unsuccessful campaign that Stephen Bawcen was slain. 24th July, Roger de Somery, summoned by the King to Chester, was afterwards directed to proceed with all his forces to protect Glamorgan, where he held lands. The Close Roll, 42nd Henry III, mentions the claim of Alex. de St. Severino for the price of 45 dolia of wine, which the thieves of Glamorgan, West Wales, and Gower, had taken and conveyed to Devonshire, to the damage of Earl Richard, whose merchant he was. The Sheriffs of Devon and Somerset are to seize the goods, unless the Earl or the Sheriff of Glamorgan admits them to have been come by lawfully.

23rd July, either in this or the following year, the Earl was taken ill at Sonning, near Reading, and William Scotney, his seneschal and chief adviser, was charged with administering poison to him and his brother William, at a breakfast given by Prince Edward at Winchester. William died 23rd July at Retheresford, and was buried at Dareford (probably

Dertford) Abbey, privately, instead of at Tewkesbury as he had wished, lest the news should reach and prove fatal to his brother. The Earl recovered, but lost his hair and his complexion; his teeth and nails threatened to fall off, and he was much disfigured. Scotney was dragged asunder by horses at Winchester, or, by some accounts, hanged, 26th May 1259, and his quarters suspended from a gallows. The Earl, however, managed to be present at Tewkesbury, 20th April 1258, when he obtained a procession, and gave the kiss of peace to all present. In this year, 6th September, the Welsh attacked Neath with 800 mail-clad horsemen, and 7,000 footmen. They failed to take the castle, but burned the town up to the gates, "et sic ad dæmones redierunt".

During these years the Earl seems to have been acting, though perhaps not very cordially, with the King's party, but Henry's conduct had gradually alienated from him all men, even those of moderate opinions. In 1258, matters drew to a head, but the Earl was still with the King, who, 22nd January, having heard that Llewelyn proposed to marry his sister Margaret, directed the Earl to take her in charge and guard her safely. 8th March, he was at Court and witnessed a royal charter relating to St. Alban's. The opening Parliament of the year met in London, 9th April, and sat till the 5th May. Howel ap Meredith and the Welsh leaders had made an alliance with Scotland. The discussions were unsatisfactory, and the assembly was adjourned to the 11th June at Oxford. In August, the Earl was directed by the King to inquire as to the large sums of money said to have been taken beyond sea by his half-brothers.

The Parliament thus adjourned was the "Mad Parliament". The Barons who had attended in London armed, came to Oxford under summons for a Welsh campaign, in full array for war. As in the time of John, a committee was appointed, and in the list the Earl of Gloucester appears with de Montfort on the

Barons' side, and in the subsequent very complex arrangements he took an active part, and was one of those by whom, 18th October 1258, the King's adhesion to the Acts of the Council was accepted, and who shared in the provisional government of the following year, and until the outbreak of the civil war. He also signed the letter to the Pope against the admission of the Poitevins. The Earl had charge this year of the manors of Aymer, Bishop of Winchester, then banished, and it was not until the 7th or 8th of Edward I that Earl Gilbert, his son, was called upon by a writ of "præcipe" to surrender them. In 1258 the Abbot and Convent of Tewkesbury paid to Master Henry de Stratford 10 marcs upon a suit between him and Roger Boyfield, one of their monks, on an agreement concerning grain, entered into at Cardiff when Roger was Prior there.

In 1259 Parliament met early in the year, and the jealousy between the personal influence of de Montfort, and the hereditary influence of Earl Richard, led to a personal altercation between them. Earl Simon was impatient of the Earl of Gloucester's moderate and somewhat temporising policy, which was the more irritating that he was far too powerful to be set aide. "For you, my Lord Earl of Gloucester," said he, "the higher your position above us all, the more are you bound to carry these statutes into effect." Indeed, Gloucester's whole conduct up to that time shows that he was not inclined to press too strongly on the King, with whom he kept up some sort of personal terms. 10th May he was named to arrange for the marriage of Henry's daughter Beatrice with John, eldest son of the Duke of Britany; and 18th May the King had lent him certain artificers. 25th May, in this year or 1260, died James de Clare, probably a near kinsman. After the personal altercation with de Montfort, the Earl seems to have gone abroad, as special Ambassador to the King of France. Earl Simon, however, is joined with him in the patent, and a reconciliation was

patched up between them by the Earl of Hereford and others, no doubt in consequence of the King's proclamation of the 28th of March. Gloucester sent Herwin, his seneschal, through his domains, to see that the statutes were obeyed, and it probably arose out of this that, 20th July, John de Cokefield was assigned to hear the "Querela transgressionis et injuriæ" by Earl Richard and his bailiffs in Gloucester, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Herts. In this and the preceding years the Patent Rolls show that the Earl had a licence to crenellate and fortify the Isle of Portland, and the towns and ports of Weymouth and Wyke. The crenellation probably related to "Bow and Arrow Castle", a curious fortress of Norman date, still standing on the east cliff of Portland. He had also a licence to build castles at Walden in Essex, and at Southwood in Suffolk.

The summer of this year seems to have been occupied in a trial of strength between the two parties in the ruling council; de Montfort, and with him Prince Edward, seeing the necessity for speedy action, and Gloucester being indisposed to move. In October, a remonstrance by the military tenants of the knightly class throughout England affirmed that the King had done his part, and it was for the council no longer to neglect to do theirs. The results were the Provisions of Westminster, drawn up in this month. The part taken by the Earl of Gloucester is indicated by the inclusion of his name among the twelve Barons chosen to reform the State, as well as in the later council of fifteen. He was not one of the twelve parliamentary commissioners, but appears among the twenty-four of "the aid". 7th November, by an agreement with the Abbot of St. Edmund's, he concluded a law plea which had lasted nine years and five days, and in the same month he either preceded or accompanied the King to France, to take part in the formal resignation of Normandy, and to settle some other differences between the Crowns; and during the short

remainder of his life his influence was, on the whole, exerted in the King's favour. He led the moderate party.

In 1260 the state of affairs compelled Henry's return to England, and Earl Richard accompanied him. 30th April he met the Barons at St. Paul's, and was reconciled to Prince Edward, who had urged on the obnoxious reforms. At the meeting, Gloucester and de Montfort again came to words, and besides their public difference, de Montfort refused to give up his wife's lands in Normandy, and so endangered the recent understanding with France. The Earl, however, to some extent, still acted with de Montfort, and by so doing probably hampered his proceedings far more than had he openly taken the King's part. 30th May, the Welsh attacked Builth Castle, while Roger Mortimer, its keeper, was attending the King in London. He was officially acquitted of all blame. The castle, though small, was strong, as its earthworks still show. In the summer Gloucester had a violent quarrel with Prince Edward, which caused great general anxiety, but, 22nd June, harmony was re-established by the mediation of Henry and his brother, the King of the Romans. An agreement then drawn up is referred to in the *Calendar* of the Patent Rolls for the year, but the document itself is not given. In this year Ralph Basset, previously mentioned, died. About the same time, while the Earl was at Tewkesbury, a certain Jew fell into a jakes and refused to be taken out because the day was the Sabbath. On this the Earl, with a curious misconception of his Christian duties, refused to have him taken out on the following, being the Christian Sabbath, and left him to perish. The story was made the subject of a quatrain :—

> "'Tende manus, Salomon, ut te de stercore tollam.'
> 'Sabbata nostra colo, de stercore surgere nolo.
> En ruit altra dies, nunc me de stercore tolles.'
> 'Sabbata nostra colo, de stercore tollere nolo.'"

In this year he attended with the King, under a safe-

conduct, the funeral of the French king's eldest son. In a letter from the Earl to the King, 15th June, probably 1261, he states that his health prevents his attendance on the King in London. He acknowledges a letter from the King about Prince Edward's affairs, about which the Earl has ordered J. Breton to meet him at Tewkesbury. 15th December, Philip de Leche, Prior of Cardiff, died, and 27th June following was succeeded by William of Deerhurst.

In 1262, 7th May, it appears from the rolls of Parliament that the Earl granted to Chancellor Walter de Merton the manors of Farley and Chessendon in aid of his new foundation, and by another document he informed Roger de Horn, his seneschal at Tonbridge, that he confirmed gifts to the same Walter by Roger at Malden, and by Philip Basset and Ela, Countess of Warwick, his wife; 8th July, the Earl recommends to the Chancellor's favour Geoffrey de Aspall, his clerk, and John, the brother of the latter.

In June the Earl was taken ill at the table of Peter of Savoy, the Queen's uncle, and was thought to have been poisoned. He died 15th (or 22nd) July 1262, "ante statutum", at Eschemerfield in Kent, and was buried 28th July in the choir at Tewkesbury, on the right of his father, in a tomb which his widow encrusted with gold and precious stones, and which bore this somewhat superlative epitaph :—

> "Hic pudor Hippoliti, Paridis gena, sensus Ulissis,
> Æneæ pietas, Hectoris ira jacet."

The Bishops of Llandaff and Worcester, eight to twelve Abbots, and many Barons, Knights, and other considerable persons attended at the burying. His actual sword and spurs were suspended over his tomb, and to all praying for his soul's weal Archbishop Boniface gave forty days' indulgence, and the Bishops of Chester, Llandaff, and Worcester twenty days' each, to which Worcester and Llandaff added ten more to all repeating ten Paternosters and three Ave Marys

within the year. In the *Annals of Tewkesbury* he is recorded as "Vir nobilis et omni laude dignus."

1st Edward I. In the Memoranda Roll Master John de Sethwille and John de Bruis (Braose) are named as executors of the Earl's will, but those given in the Rolls of Parliament are Hugh Bigod and others. The debts were considerable, both to the King and to private persons. One debt to the merchants was 480 marcs; and another to Hugh de Gundeville, 300 marcs. 7th Edward I, Sethwille received £80. 12th Edward I, the account was still unsettled, both with the Exchequer and the general debtors and creditors. £127 8*s*. 4*d*. was allowed for the farm of the Barton of Bristol for eight to ten years. This possession, therefore, severed from the castle, was still a part of the estate.

47th Henry III, Countess Maud had an assignation of dower which included Bedwin and Winchcombe, and the castles and manors of Usk, Trillech, and Clare. 52nd Henry III, she purchased the manor of Long Stratton in Norfolk. Their children were—1, Gilbert; 2, Thomas, a man of some mark in his day. He was governor of St. Briavel's Castle in April, 49th Henry III, and custos of the royal forest in Essex, and for his conduct at Lewes made governor of Colchester Castle. 51st Henry III, he went with Prince Edward to Palestine, and brought home four Saracen prisoners. 55th Henry III, or 1st Edward I, he was governor of London, and soon afterwards went to Ireland with a grant of Thomond and a roving commission to conquer all he could. Soon after his landing he was himself conquered by the charms of Julian, third daughter of Maurice, son of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, by Emmeline, daughter and heir of Sir Stephen Longespée, a natural son of Henry II and Rosamond Clifford. With her he had Youghal, where the provost and borough adopted his arms, the one sealing with de Clare impaling Fitz-Gerald with a label, both dimidiated; the other with de Clare and Fitz-Gerald, each with a label

and each upon a heater-shaped shield. He built Bunratty Castle. For the rest, his career was unfortunate; he was thrice defeated, and, finally, killed by the Irish in 1285. His wife was alive in 1321. They left issue John, Gilbert, Richard, and Thomas. Richard, the third son was probably the Richard de Clare who was summoned to Parliament 26th October 1309. He left issue Thomas de Clare, who died childless, 14th Edward II, 1320-21, leaving his father's sisters his heirs. He was probably the male heir of the House of Clare, though he does not seem to have claimed the Honours. Probably the settlement made by the penultimate Earl on his marriage with Princess Joan precluded him from the estate. He is not mentioned by Dugdale.

3. Bevis, Benedict, or Bogo, born 11th or 21st July 1248, was a canon of York. 4. Isabel, born May 1240, said by Anselm to have been a nun at Barking, but who married at Lyons, 13th June 1257, the Marquis di Ponte Ferrato, and was escorted thither by a Tewkesbury monk. 5. Margaret, born at Llantrissant, Christmas 1250. She married Edmund, a younger son of Richard Earl of Cornwall, but his eldest by Saunchia of Provence. He was regent during Edward's absence in Palestine. She was divorced, childless, 22nd Edward I, and compelled by the Bishop of Winchester "vitam vivere cælibem." 6. Roesia, born 17th October 1252, married Roger Mowbray. 54th Henry III, Roger Estraneus and Matilda his wife, and Matilda de Mowbray, are bound to Matilda Countess of Gloucester in a fine if Roger, son and heir of Roger de Mowbray, does not marry Roesia, daughter of the Countess. The witnesses are Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Thomas de Clare, Henry de Sully, Paulinus de Kerdiff, Thomas de Bellocampo, Walter de la ——, Hy. de Umfravile, knights, John, Abbot of Tintern. The marriage took place in 1270. 7. Eglantine, born 1257, died an infant, fifteen weeks old, and was buried at Tewkesbury. Another Bogo, well known in the reign of Edward I, seems to have been a cousin.

On the Earl's death, Nicholas Berkeley, and afterward Petronel de la Mare, took charge of the Honour. The jurors on his inquisition were directed to make return "de maneriis quæ idem comes nomine custodiæ et firmæ tenuit die obitus suæ." In Glamorgan he so held only Marcross, 46th Henry III.

Earl Richard died at a very critical period in his own career and in the history of his country. His rank and alliances, his immense property, and his power in the Welsh Marches made him a most important person, second only to King Henry and his brother the King of the Romans. The moderation of his character in a reign continually verging upon civil war placed him in opposition, sometimes to one party, sometimes to the other, and probably neither Henry nor Prince Edward, nor Simon de Montfort thought him to be relied upon. He died just when it would have been absolutely necessary to take a decided part, and had he lived, that part would probably have been with the King. He was personally brave, and experienced in the use of arms and in warfare.

The lordship of Glamorgan fell into the King's hands, the young Earl being a minor. Humphrey de Bohun at once took charge, and reported to the King, who acknowledged his letter, and committed to him, 18th July, the castles of Usk, Tregrue (?), Newburg, Kaerdiff, Lantrissan, Langenyth, Neth, and all other fortalices and their appurtenances in Wales. Philip Basset the Justiciar is to move John de Breos to deliver up Lantrissant Castle to de Bohun. 1st February 1263, 100 marcs are allowed to store the castles; Walter de Sully, sheriff, is, we are told, "bonus homo et potens in provincia". De Bohun reported to the Chancellor that all was then quiet, and that he had equipped the castles. 4th August 1263, the King directed Roger de Clifford to assist Humphrey. Inquiry is to be made into the late Earl's tenure of the manor of Buckingham, which William

de Breos alleged that his brother John had leased fraudulently. Bohun is to employ Robert de Meisy, Trahilo ap Hoel, and Ralph de Auste to make an extent or survey of the lordship, and Walter and Henry de Sully are to have quittance concerning a summons in Devon; and whereas John de Sully had been enfeoffed by the Earl of a carucate of land in —— and one in Orchiston, he is to receive them from the escheator, 7th December. The extent was also directed of the lands in Gloucester, Essex, and Suffolk. The King announced the Earl's death to Philip Basset the justiciary and to Walter de Merton the Chancellor, and approved their doings at Amiens.

It appeared that William le Sor held of the "Honour of Tewkesbury" 13 fees. Also, 18th February, Griffin de Bedwas, who was detained in the King's prison at Cardiff, was to be delivered by the Sheriff to M. Bezile, constable of Gloucester Castle.

De Bohun did not long act as custos. On account of debility he is to deliver up his charge to Walter de Sully; 1 February 1266, he was superseded in the command of the army in Wales by John de Grey, and Henry wrote to Llewelyn to inform him of the appointment. 15th February 1263, the King informed the barons, knights, and loyal men of Glamorgan that Walter de Sully had charge of the lands and castles of the late Earl of Gloucester, which had been held by Humphrey de Bohun; and, 15th June, a royal letter to Sully informs him that he was to be in charge for three weeks or a month, in fact until the Earl had seizin. It appeared that William de Powyk had been constituted to take depositions in a dispute between the prior of Ewenny and the Abbot of Margam, concerning tenements in Llanmeuthin. Also the Sheriff of Cardiff was directed to act as to certain crops belonging to the Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, at Tregof and Lancarvan, seized on account of a vacancy in that office. The Archbishop of Canterbury had placed his seneschal in charge of Tonbridge Castle,

whence he is ordered to transmit six Welsh prisoners to the constable of Rochester Castle. They were Thurk (?), Howel ap Meulyn, Meuth ap Leulyn, Tudor Howel, Howel ap Ivor (?) and Meureth.

Gilbert de Clare, surnamed "the Red", "quia rufus erat et pulcher aspectu", 7th Earl of Gloucester and 7th of Hertford, and 9th Earl of Clare, succeeded in July 1262, 46th Henry III, being then nineteen years of age, not as yet girded with the sword of knighthood, and married to Alice de la Marche or d'Angoulesme, by whom he had one child, Isabel, born 10th March 1262.

27th June, the Abbot of Tewkesbury appointed William de Deerhurst Prior of Cardiff. The minority was a short one, for, 3rd August, the young Earl did homage, and had livery of the castles of Cardiff, Newburgh (Newport), and Llantrissant, and of the Welsh lordship, of which Hereford was to give seizin; which cost the Earl £1000. The Hundreds of Wathelston and Littelfeld, held by the Earl, under the See of Canterbury, but appendant to Tonbridge, were restored to him, on his coming of age, by the Archbishop. At the same time he entered upon his lands in England and Ireland, and also succeeded to the wardship of the lands of Peter of Savoy, and of Pembroke Castle, and of the lands of William de Valence in Pembroke: wardships, unlike other personal property, being heritable. Just before this, 8th February 1263, the Bishop of Llandaff was informed that when he came to London he might lodge in the close of the King's Hermitage at Charing Cross, without impediment from the royal officers.

The young Earl, it is recorded by Wykes, was impetuous and much influenced by his mother, who led him to join the opposition party. "Blanditiis allectum, qui prius Regi devotus extiterat, resilire coegit, et de fideli reddidit infidelem." He was, however, probably influenced also by the example of his father, who, though a moderate, was never a blind, supporter of the

King. It is moreover said that the Earl had a special grievance against Prince Edward, whose attentions to his wife were unpleasant to him. From whatever cause, he at once, as early as February 1263, threw himself into the party of de Montfort, at that time engaged in giving effect to the provisions of Oxford, by which aliens were excluded from the government of the royal castles, and the central administration of justice, and an equitable collection of the revenue were provided for. In March he refused to include Prince Edward in his oath of allegiance, and, with de Montfort, took up arms. The King fled to the Tower, and the Prince took post at Windsor, and towards the close of the year it was decided, against the Earl's wish, to refer the matters in dispute to the French King. Henry seized the Earl's castles of Kingston and Tonbridge, but allowed the Countess, who was in the latter, to go free.

The French award was unfavourable to the barons, who, at the Oxford Parliament in March 1264, refused to accept it. 12th May, Henry addressed a defiance to de Montfort and the Earl of Gloucester, as chiefs of the Barons' party, and in the military summonses to Worcester their adherents were omitted. On the 14th, the rival forces met at Lewes, and the appeal to arms, long threatened, actually occurred. The Earl accepted knighthood on the battle field from de Montfort, and, young and unskilled as he was, was nevertheless recognized as, equally with de Montfort, a leader of the party, and to him was allotted the command of the second line. In the battle he distinguished himself by personal valour, and seems to have received the King's sword. He used his power to take a grant, 20th June, of the confiscated estates of Earl Warenne, excepting Rygate and Lewes Castles; and one of the articles of the "Mise of Lewes" provides especially for his indemnity and that of de Montfort. The Earl, Earl Simon, and the Bishop of Chichester were the three electors who were to nominate

the new council of nine persons of those who were "most faithful, prudent, and most studious for the public weal", and who were to be the real governors of the kingdom. Gloucester was also one of the five Earls summoned to the "Great Parliament" at Westminster, 20th January 1265.

Victory speedily generated discontent between the victors, and especially between the two Earls. Gloucester seems to have claimed from Earl Simon the custody of his own prisoners, and especially of the Earl of Cornwall, and to have been refused. He also demanded unsuccessfully the Castle of Bristol, to which he had hereditary claims, and which was occupied by Earl Simon; and further, a tournament at which he proposed to take part against de Montfort's sons, was forbidden by their father. These causes, or some of them, may have precipitated the rupture, but it was improbable that the two Earls could long have continued in accord. De Montfort was a foreigner by birth and education, a much older man than Gloucester, and as far above him in personal weight as he was below him in hereditary position and territorial wealth. Each naturally looked upon the other with a jealous eye. Earl Gilbert, though without experience, stood at the head of the English baronage, and it was evident that however much circumstances might force him to oppose Henry, he did not wish permanently to overthrow the royal power. A few years later Wikes describes him as "Summæ et singularis inter regni Magnates nobilitatis, et præeminentiæ, et incomparabilis post Regem potentiæ". De Montfort, whose views were broader and probably far more patriotic than those of the Earl, nevertheless desired personal aggrandisement. From the King he had long sought an augmentation of his wife's jointure, which included a third of the Mareschal estates, and he wished to obtain from the Prince the Earldom of Chester in exchange for that of Leicester, Chester being not only a richer, but, from its position on the Marches, a far more powerful earldom; and to

bring about this change he took advantage of his possession of the Prince's person. He was also bent upon strengthening his own power in the west, at the expense of that of Gloucester, holding Bristol, and giving encouragement to the South Welsh Princes, hereditary foes to the Lords of Glamorgan. Moreover, his son, the younger Simon, was pretender to the hand of Isabel, heiress of the great Earldom of Devon, and holding in dower a third of that of Albemarle. After Lewes, he had actually pursued her with an armed force, and forced her to take refuge under the covert protection of the Earl of Gloucester, her kinsman. These sources of distrust led Gloucester at once to take up the interests of the King, who would thus become indebted to him for his kingdom.

His change of action was rapid and complete. In April 1265, he opened a communication, through his brother Thomas, with Roger Mortimer, and came to a personal altercation with de Montfort, casting up against him his foreign birth, "manifeste ridiculum est quod hic alienigena totius regni dominium sibi præsumit subjugare". De Montfort, with the King and Prince in his train, went to Hereford, while de Clare, in conjunction with John Giffard, a great soldier and a man of much personal influence in South Wales, collected a considerable force in the Forest of Dene. In May, an arbitration was agreed to, probably to gain time, for in that month, by Thomas de Clare's agency, the Prince effected his escape from the meads of Hereford, and rode to Wigmore, and thence to Ludlow, where he was joined by Gloucester, on the condition that he should swear to observe "the ancient and approved laws of the realm". De Montfort's rejoinder was the destruction of the Castle of Monmouth, whence he marched upon Newport, holding both banks of the Usk. He was followed by Prince Edward from the East, on which he broke down Newport Bridge, and retired upon Glamorgan, which he laid waste in combination with Llewelyn. Meantime de Clare regained Bristol,

and the Prince fell back upon the Severn at Gloucester. While there, he learned that the younger de Montfort was on his way from Pevensey towards Kenilworth. With a decision that indicated the future leader, the Prince by a rapid march intercepted de Montfort near Kenilworth, routed him, 16th July, and thence turning back upon Worcester, held that city and broke down the bridge, 1st August, and on the 4th, encountered and overthrew Earl Simon at Evesham.

In the battle, de Clare, as at Lewes, led the second line, but now on the King's behalf. His reward was a pardon, 49th Hen. III, for his brother Thomas, himself, and his adherents, and the custos-ship of Abergavenny during the nonage of Maud, the child wife of the Earl of Hereford. He again did homage for his lands; and the King remitted £900 of fine as yet unpaid upon his livery, on the ground of his expenses in the royal cause.

De Montfort's death left Gloucester without a rival, and much tempted him to take the lead on the popular side. He does not seem to have aided at the siege of Kenilworth; and though one of those elected to sit as an arbitrator upon the terms of the Ban, in October 1266, he disapproved of, and opposed them. Early in that year William de Braose, Canon of Llandaff, was elected Bishop; and Griffith ap Rhys, taken prisoner, was committed to Cardiff Castle, and thence, in 1267, sent to Kilkenny for greater security. Towards the close of 1266 Gloucester, himself discontented, seems to have met the "disinherited" party in the Isle of Ely, and thence, 8th April 1267, to have led them to London, where they occupied the city, and summoned the Legate to surrender the Tower. They met publicly at St. Paul's, but, meantime, Henry had advanced from Windsor, and encamped at Stratford, whence, 5th May, he also entered London. On this, Gloucester, through his brother Thomas, again made terms, and in June he and his followers were admitted to the benefits of the Ban, and a safe-conduct issued in favour of Gilbert

de Clare, his household, and all who call themselves "exheredatos". This was to enable them to meet Henry at Stratford.

The Parliament at Marlborough, in November, conceded almost all the points in dispute; and although the Earl remained at variance with Mortimer and the royal party, and declined an invitation to the King's great banquet, he gave no further trouble, and the King waived the conditions proposed by the Legate, that the Earl should give either his daughter or his Castle of Tonbridge, for three years, as a hostage for his conduct. Finally, at Midsummer 1268, the Earl assumed the cross, with Prince Edward, at Northampton, though this promise was not fulfilled by himself. His brother Thomas, however, accompanied the Prince.

The Earl's amity was no doubt largely influenced by the King's action in South Wales. As early as 26th April 1266, the King had questioned the correctness of the Earl's scutages, and had directed William de Powyk and the Abbot of Tintern to make a new survey; and 30th April, Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, was ordered to take charge, but the issues were to be paid over to Matilda, Countess of Gloucester, and Gilbert de Clare; and the Countess was to surrender Usk Castle. 5th May, Earl Humphrey was informed that the King will accommodate his niece, the wife of Gilbert de Clare, with the use of Usk Castle, which had belonged to Richard de Cardiff; Lawrence de Hameldon appears as Earl Gilbert's clerk. 1st August, the Earl had a grant of the manor of Lydgate, and the seneschalship of Bury Abbey, taken from Henry de Hastings, the King's enemy. 20th August, he was also to have the lands of all the rebel Welsh that he could conquer.

In 1267, Henry laboured hard to give peace to South Wales; 14th March, Roger de Somery and Hugh de Turberville, Glamorgan Barons, were commissioned to inquire into the causes of quarrel between Llewelyn ap Griffith and the Earl of Gloucester. Llewelyn's complaint was that the Earl refused to restore the lands of

his subjects, according to the terms agreed upon. The result was a compromise, agreed to at Michaelmas 1268. The violence complained of had chiefly lain in the districts of Senghenydd, Glyn-Rhondda, and Miscin, tracts of country too strong and too near Cardiff to be left in native hands. The compromise lasted but a short time, and the final result was the building of the great Castle of Caerphilly. The Earl was still bent upon the recovery of Bristol; and, 31st October 1268, he addressed the King, stating that he proposed, with Prince Edward's consent, to have his right to the castle and borough tried in course of law, and should he recover it, he promises to give due exchange. The suit seems to have been deferred till 1276, when, in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, the castle and borough were adjudged to the King.

A year later, 15th October 1269, the Earl had a safe-conduct to come to meet the King, Prince Edward, and Llewelyn, of which he does not seem to have availed himself; nor did he attend the Parliament then held. He found it very inconvenient to accompany the Prince to the Holy Land, and he probably feared compulsion. The reason he assigned, whether true or false, was certainly sufficient. "At Comes causatus est terris suis, quæ Walliæ contingunt, et quæ tunc temporis a Wallensibus fortiter fuerunt impugnatæ, depopulatis provinciis, et castris solo terrarum complanatis, periculum imminere, si, vacuatis regni limitibus, ipsas . . . expositas relinqueret indefensas." The King of the Romans seems to have mediated, and at Pentecost 1270, Henry allowed the repayment of the Earl's expenses at Evesham, and again gave him livery of his lands and castles. In return, he undertook to follow the Prince, who had left England in July, unless prevented by illness, war, or other sufficient causes. This he did not do, but as he gave no other cause of offence, he and Henry lived on good terms for the rest of the reign.

The King of the Romans died 2nd April 1272, and that year, about six weeks before Henry's death, Earl Gilbert married his sister Margaret to Edmund, Richard's eldest surviving son, on which occasion, on St. Edmund's Day, 20th November, Edmund was knighted and recognised as Earl of Cornwall; and on St. Nicholas' Day following, 6th December, he gave a wedding feast of great splendour at Wallingford. Upon Henry's death Earl Gilbert was one of those whose names, 23rd November 1272, are appended to the letter informing Prince Edward of that event, and the proclamation of the new King was signed by the Archbishop of York, Earl Gilbert, and Edmund (Earl of Cornwall). He was also present at the proclamation at the New Temple, and on the new King's arrival in England he entertained him with great magnificence at Tonbridge Castle.

The state of Glamorgan during the reign of Henry III was such as to cause great anxiety to its lord, its ecclesiastical magnates, its barons and knights, and its inhabitants generally, whether Welsh or English. The land was wasted, the houses burned, the cattle driven off, the borough towns and religious houses sorely bested. The clergy were in arrears with their tithes, the bishops and monastic bodies with their dues, and the landlords of all ranks with their rents and the produce of their demesnes. Treaties and truces between the English and the Welsh were of no avail. Each party broke them at pleasure. The King's writ did not run in the Marches, and would have been but little respected even if it had had legal sanction; and the chief lords, though strong enough to be a thorn in the King's side, were often unable to preserve peace. It is true that the lower or seaboard division of the lordship, including the vale of Glamorgan, was studded with castles. Cardiff, Neath, and Swansea, and perhaps the Tower of Lwchwr, were strong enough to defend the lower parts of the Taff, the Nedd, the Tawe, and the Lwchwr rivers, but the other castles and strong houses, Kenfig,

Llantrissant, Ogmore, Coyty, Dunraven, Talavan, Llanblethian, Bonvilleston, Fonmon, Penmark, Sully, Barry, Wenvoe, Flimston, and Dinas Powis, and a score of others, were intended to guard private domains, and did not command the main passes of the district. Cardiff and Neath were regularly walled, and Kenfig fenced in, probably with a palisade. Cowbridge also was walled. The south gate and wall still remain, and a charter of the 3rd Henry VII refers to a turret or tower and to the north wall, as then standing. These defences, however, were for the security of the town only. What was wanted was some central stronghold of the first class, large enough to contain a numerous garrison, strong enough to resist a siege, and so placed as to stand in the way of any advance of the Welsh in force into England, and, should they so advance, to cut off their retreat. Earl Gilbert determined to supply this want in a manner worthy of his rank and wealth as chief of the Marcher Lords, and suitable to the importance of the territory which it was his duty to protect. The place fixed upon for his fortress was the centre of a vast and, in part, marshy basin upon the Welsh bank of the Rhymny, and therefore between the lordships of Gwent and Morgannwg, within the hill district, and not above six miles from Cardiff. This lay in the route by which the Welsh invaders usually advanced upon and retired from Gwent, and to close it would close the whole line of the Rhymny, from the Brecon mountains to the sea, Cardiff blocking the seaward plain, and Brecknock and Builth, the valley of the Usk, north of the mountains. The proposed castle was wholly new. A knoll of ground rising out of the morass was scarped and revetted and crowned with a double belt of walls and towers, while, as at Kenilworth and Leeds, an insignificant brook was barred by a strong and well-defended dam, and the depression about the castle converted into a deep and broad lake. Such was the origin and such the general disposition of the Castle of Caerphilly, the most complete example in

Britain of the concentric style of fortress, and in area and accommodation second only to Windsor. Unfortunately for its historic celebrity, the precautions which led to its construction were, within a very few years, rendered useless by the complete conquest of the Principality, though in that respect it only shared the fate of Conway, Caernarvon, Beaumaris, Harlech, and Bere.

Earl Gilbert certainly did not take up the defence of his territory by halves. Besides Caerphilly, the small but strong fortress of Castell Coch was constructed to guard the lowest pass of the Taff; and upon the high ground near one head of the same river, near the old Roman way from Newport to Brecon, was constructed, a few years later, Morlais, a castle small in area but strong, and guarded by a ditch quarried with immense labour out of the limestone rock. The chain was completed by the construction of a circular tower, now destroyed, at Whitchurch, in the plain between Castell Coch and Cardiff. The age of Castell Coch can be determined only by reference to its architectural peculiarities, which, however, are sufficiently marked. Enough remained of Whitchurch a score of years ago to declare its date; but it is also mentioned in the reign of Edward II, when Llewelyn ap Griffith, representative of the celebrated Ivor Bach, and ancestor of the Lewises of the Van and Llanishen, indigenous in those parts, claimed and was allowed the "forcelettum" which stood upon his ground. Morlais, the site of which had been wrested from the same Llewelyn, was the subject of quarrel between the Lords of Brecknock and Glamorgan in the reign of Edward I, the full particulars of which are recorded upon the Rolls of Parliament. Caerphilly was certainly built in the closing years of the reign of Henry III, though largely altered and improved half a century later. Much of it bears evidence of having been built in haste, though the interior and more ornate parts are in good taste and of excellent workmanship. In a military point of view it is a very remarkable work.

Caerphilly had been commenced, and was defensible as early as 1270, for it was then attacked by Llewelyn, and in it were the King's Commissioners, the Bishops of Lichfield and Worcester. A truce was agreed to, the Castle to be held by the Bishops till the quindene (15th day after) of Midsummer, and there was to be a final settlement of the matter at the Fords of Montgomery, at the quindene of the following Easter. The King no doubt saw the importance of the castle to the realm at large, for, in Council, 2nd February 1271, in London, de Clare had leave to enditch it.

Llewelyn's attack is the subject of a letter from the Archbishop of York in London, dated 3rd November 1271, to Mag$^{r}$ R. de Nedham, his proctor at Rome. It appeared that Prince Edward, on leaving England, had constituted the Archbishop, the King of the Romans, Philip Basset, R. de Mortimer, and R. Burnel, his deputies, and their attention was engaged upon affairs in South Wales. "Llewelyn," the Primate says, "had come down upon Caerphilly, and laid siege to it with a considerable force. The Earl of Gloucester is calling for aid which ought not to be withheld. But the King is ill, and the scarcity of the past year has left them without funds." He relates this that the Cardinals may be content with less valuable presents than might have been expected. The favour of the new Pope was, however, to be obtained by a handsome sum.

Beneath the strong rule of Edward I, the part played by the Earl of Gloucester became politically insignificant, and on the subjugation of Wales in 1282, one source both of his power and of his weakness was extinguished. Henceforward, the most important events in his life were connected with his own estates. In 1276, Earl Gilbert joined in the decree declaring Llewelyn guilty of contumacy; and, at the close of the year, he was summoned to the Welsh expedition. In this year also, Morgan of Avan, the son of Morgan Gam, and the principal Welshman holding of the Earl,

married the daughter and heiress of Walter de Sully, a knight of Norman descent, and united his estate to Avan. He died 6th August 1288.

Soon afterwards, the dispute respecting Malvern Chase, settled about 1255, was reopened, the Earl claiming right of chase on Malvern Hill, in Colwall and Estun, against the Bishop of Worcester, who gained the cause, which, however, reappeared a few years later. The Bishop of Hereford, who had also certain claims, came to an agreement with the Earl. In 1276, the Earl made a final effort to recover the Castle and Borough of Bristol, as the heir of William, Earl of Gloucester. The cause seems to have been fairly tried by the magnates of the realm, and judgment went against him, on the ground that the Crown had held them during the last four reigns. Also, in 1276, the Earl's Bailiff of Caerleon, and his Sheriff of Glamorgan, are ordered by the King not to allow the tenants to supply provisions to the Welsh rebels.

In December 1277, the Earl was impleaded by certain merchants for debts incurred in aid of the Welsh war, in consideration of which a delay was allowed him. About the same time arose a dispute with the Bishop of Winchester about the Church of Portland, and John Pickard and Maurice de Lambeth represented the Earl. In March 1278, he seems to have escorted Alexander, King of Scots, to London, under a safe-conduct from Edward, and at Michaelmas he was present at the homage rendered by the Scottish King.

10th January 1279, Bishop Braose of Llandaff was summoned before the Exchequer for sums due on the wardship of a certain youth which he had obtained in satisfaction for 100 marcs paid by him on behalf of Ralph Cross, the youth's father; a kind of security then common. About this time Matilda, Countess of Gloucester, and Earl Gilbert, her son, were called to deliver to Roger Mortimer and Matilda his wife, certain lands and rents in Usk, which had been assigned to the latter lady. They were cousins. Gilbert, 5th

Earl of Gloucester, married Isabel Mareschal, and Eva, her sister and co-heir, married Wm. de Braose. Isabel's son married Matilda de Lacy, and Usk was settled on her son Gilbert, 7th Earl. Eva de Braose also had a daughter, Matilda, who married Roger Mortimer. The dispute was arranged by the transfer of Aure Manor to Mortimer. 9th June 1279, Earl Gilbert did homage to Archbishop Peckham, for Tonbridge. This took place at Lymynge in the presence of Sir John, son of Arnulph de Bosco, Richard de Teyden, Master Thos. de Pulesdon, and Richard de Londres, of the Earl's household. It appears from an entry in the Pipe Roll of 9th Edward I, that when the Earl undertook to accompany Prince Edward to Palestine he received 1,000 marcs, which sum he was then repaying. In 1280, the Earl founded the Grey Friary in Crockherbton, of which a fragment, though of later date, still remains.

About this time, also, the Earl's marcher rights were questioned by one of the de Braose family who had been stopped with violence by Robert de Veal, the Earl's Bailiff, on the public highway. He proceeded against de Clare, who was summoned before the King's Court at Michaelmas 1281. The Earl challenged the jurisdiction, and when his rights were made the subject of a "quo warranto" he declined to reply until he had consulted with his brother peers and marchers. 24th May 1282, he was summoned for the Welsh war, and took part in Edward's great and final effort, which ended in the death of Llewelyn.

The Earl seems to have been considerably burdened by his father's debts, incurred, as Edward was disposed, very liberally, to admit, in the royal service. He obtained more than one respite from the Exchequer, and 12th Edward I, that department undertook to aid him in the recovery of monies due to his father's estate, and he was allowed £127 18*s.* 4*d.* for the farm of the barton of Bristol for the 8th, 9th, and 10th years of the reign. After the North Wales campaign the King visited South Wales, and presented Abbot Adam, at

Neath, with a very beautiful baudekin. In 1285 the Sheriff of Glamorgan, Robert le Neil (Veal), was again guilty of violence, seizing for the Earl, unjustly, the lands of New Grange and of Terry, the property of Margam.

In 1287 one of the final struggles of the Welsh, now without any recognised leader, took place under Rhys ap Meredith, on which occasion the Bailiff of St. Briavels was ordered to raise a force and place it under the Earl of Gloucester, who was to be supported by Mortimer and other marchers. 11th June, Rhys had taken divers castles in the west, and was advancing upon Swansea, which, 27th June, he plundered and burnt; and then burnt Oystermouth Castle in Gower. The Welsh prisoners seem to have been fairly treated. Griffith ap Meredith was committed to Richard Tybetot at Nottingham Castle, where he stayed six years and thirty-two weeks. There appears a charge of 16*s.* per annum for robes for him, and £25 2*s.* "pro vadiis". Rees ap Maelgon and Conan ap Meredith were first, 1286, sent to Bridgenorth, and thence, 1289, moved to Bamburgh. Rees had a grant of 10 marcs per annum rent, in Dalton juxta Drayenton, in 1307.

When we read that one cause of the Earl's personal dislike to Prince Edward was his jealousy of his attention to his wife, it seems strange to find a marriage proposed between the Earl and the daughter of the Prince, become King; such, however, was the fact. There is much doubt as to why or when he was divorced from Alice of Angoulesme; one account stating positively that the divorce was pronounced at Norwich 18th July 1271, while other and more probable accounts place it as 1282, and Père Anselm fixes it in 1283, and says the cause was "parcequèlle étoit devenue hypocondre". What is recorded of Edward's intimacy with the lady, even if exaggerated, is scarcely consistent with a great affection between the husband and wife; and no doubt the desire for male heirs had great weight. But there does not appear to have been any

scandal in the rupture. Alice was the appellant in the petition for divorce; and the Earl, 25th May 1282, settled upon her, as the Lady Alicia de Marchia, certain lands as a provision for her sustenance; their daughter Isabel was also provided for. The proceedings, however, seem, according to a deed in Rymer, not to have been completed until 16th May 1285.

The object for which the divorce was brought about could have been no secret, for in May 1283, is dated the "Prælocutio" between the King and the Earl, touching a contract of marriage between the latter and the King's daughter. The King and his council are satisfied that the Earl will obtain from the Church the dissolution of his marriage with Alice, who was his wife, and are aware that he has purchased a dispensation to marry the King's daughter, his kinswoman. The Earl is to surrender all his lands in England, Ireland, and Wales, so that he and his wife may be enfeoffed therein to them and the heirs of their bodies. If there be no such heirs, the lands go to the Countess for life, with the remainder to the Earl's right heirs, excepting "deus mile marchees de terre", to be selected to the satisfaction of the King and Queen, and which the Countess is to have in fee as her inheritance, together with any land that the Earl may purchase after marriage. This seems a perfectly reasonable settlement, having regard to the rank of the lady; and the King's oath to observe it was given by Otto de Grandison, as proxy, the Earl's in person.

Princess Joan was born at Acre in 1272, Edward's second daughter, and was then therefore, in 1283, but eleven years old. The consummation of the marriage was on this account postponed, and took place at Westminster, 2nd May 1290, she being then eighteen years old. Edward gave her no portion. The dispensation referred to in 1283, and given by Rymer, seems not to have been signed till 16th November 1289; and it covered not only the relationship between Earl Gilbert and Joan, but that between Joan and Alice, the former

wife. The King married his two daughters on successive days. On the second of July 1290, Beatrice married the son and heir of the Duke of Brabant, and their feast was held at Westminster. Next day, "in crastino vero ipsius Dominicæ Comes Gloucestriæ, abducta uxore sua, quam nuper ante desponsaverat, loco nuptiarum celeberrimum fecit convivium apud Clerkenwell celebritati superioris convivii non dissimile nec minus sumptuosum." Matilda, the Earl of Gloucester's mother, seems to have died about this time, for, 10th March 1289, her dower lands came into his possession.

About the same time, probably between the contract and Earl Gilbert's marriage, occurred the celebrated quarrel between the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, which led to serious consequences to both, and enabled Edward to carry into effect a stroke of policy very important for the welfare of his kingdom. Hereford, 26th June 1289, complained that Gloucester had built a castle on his territory, and had collected an armed force and broken the peace. It appeared upon inquiry that the Earl of Gloucester had built Morlais Castle, as he said, within his border; as the Earl of Hereford alleged, beyond it. Their dependents had met in arms with banners displayed, and had committed, as the King declared, a breach of his peace, or as Gloucester considered it, of their own peace as marchers. Also the border had been harried, flocks and herds driven off, and a church despoiled, in which Gloucester's seneschal had been the main offender. The King ordered both parties to pause, and await his decision. This command they disobeyed, and continued their local warfare. 18th Edward I, January 1290, the matter came before Parliament, and the King took it up in earnest. A commission was appointed and reported, and both Earls were imprisoned. There exists a very curious record of a suit in the King's Court arising out of this dispute, in which de Bohun was querent and de Clare defendant, in which de Bohun asserts that de Clare had neglected to fulfil the custom of the March, or of

Wales, which had long obtained, by which, when contentions arose between such magnates as held of the King "in capite", before any suit was lodged in the King's Court, there should be taken "dies amoris sive Parliamenti", also called a "dies Marchiæ", when the causes of the quarrel were to be laid before the neighbours and common friends, acting as judges, so that the custom of the March thus might be cleared up.

The proceedings upon the main inquiry are recorded at great length on the Rolls of Parliament, and were one of the "causes célèbres" of the reign. Before sentence was given the Earl of Gloucester had married the King's daughter, but the Earl of Hereford was also connected with the royal family. In truth, the occasion was a good one to break down the power of the Marcher Lords, and the King availed himself of it to the full. The lands of both parties were forfeited, and, 20th Edward I, 1291-2, Roger de Burghull had custody of the "royal liberty", then in the hands of the Earl of Gloucester, in Glamorgan, and of the Earl of Hereford in Brecknock, which liberties were taken into the King's hands by reason of the contempt and disobedience of the said Earls. The King thus asserted his right as over-lord to "totum regale in terris *suis* de Morgannon", and "totum regale libertatis *sue* de Brekenok." Gloucester's lands were to remain in the King's hands "tota vita ipsius comitis", and for the other earl, "forisfacta de ipso Comite et heredibus suis in perpetuum." Hereford, however, was really least in fault, and this was admitted, "Transgressio de qua convictus est non ita carcans, nec tantam penam requirit quantum, etc., de qua predictus Comes Glouc. convincitur"; and so, as Hereford had married the King's cousin, and his children were of kin to the King's children, his forfeiture also was limited to his life. Both were imprisoned, and Gloucester, besides paying £100 to Hereford for his losses, was fined 10,000 marcs to the King, and Hereford 1,000 marcs. Even the Earl's officers, who only obeyed orders, were fined. The offence was, in fact, treated just as though it had been committed in

any other part of the kingdom, and Edward was the first sovereign who could have ventured so to treat it. In Gloucester's case, the reason given for the limitation of the forfeiture to his life was that he had a son Gilbert, born 1291 at Winchcombe, begotten of the King's daughter, who was jointly enfeoffed of the estates with her husband. There is a good deal of obscurity as to the different steps, both of the marriage and the forfeiture. The Earl's deed of surrender is dated 20th April 1290, three weeks before his marriage, upon which was a re-settlement, much less favourable to him than that set forth in the *Prælocutio* of 1283, being to the husband and wife jointly for life, remainder to the heirs of their bodies, remainder over to *her* heirs, instead of, as before, to *his* heirs. The lands so re-settled lay in the counties of Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Derby, Devon, Dorset, Essex, Gloucester, Hants, Herts, Hunts, Kent, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northampton, Notts, Oxford, Somerset, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Wilts, Worcester, and in Wales, a prodigious estate. The Irish lands were included, but with remainder to *his* heirs.

In 1290 occurred a revival of the old dispute as to the custody of the temporalities of Llandaff, "sede vacante." It appeared that in 1240, when Bishop Elias died, King Henry put in Waleran Teutonicus to administer, and he collated to one prebend Master William de Burgh, treasurer, and to another Alfred de Fescamp, sub-treasurer of the Wardrobe, and to the archdeaconry Thomas, the queen-mother's chaplain; and at the term of his custos-ship he accounted for the proceeds to the Exchequer. At that time the Chapter elected Archdeacon Maurice to the See, but the election was set aside by the King. William of Christchurch was then chosen, and appears on the roll of bishops from 1240 to 1244, when he resigned, no doubt because disapproved by the King; and William de Burgh, above mentioned, and then chaplain to the King, became bishop, and so remained till his death in 1253. The earl was at that time under age, and though a protest was entered against the King's interference, it was not pressed.

Bishop William de Braose died, it appears, 19th March 1286-7, when the Archbishop of Canterbury revoked the commission of Master Thomas de St. Audomard as official of Llandaff, and appointed Master Aniamo Calus (?) then a canon of St. Asaph. On the Bishop's death, or soon afterwards, the Marcher Lords, under whom the lands of the See were holden, took possession of them. The Earl of Gloucester took Llandaff and Llancader-Warden manors, Lord William de Braose took Bishopston in Gower, and the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, and Edmund the King's brother, took others. November 3rd, 1290, the King's escheator, Malcolm de Harley, raised objection to this, and, the See being still vacant, claimed the custody of the manors for the Crown. De Braose and the others gave way, but Gloucester stood up for his rights. He asserted the whole "patria" of Glamorgan to be "dominio suo", and all wardships, that of the See included, to belong to him, as they had always belonged to his ancestors, save when under age, and the lord had, on that account, been a ward to the King. He stated that his father Richard, had, at his death, actually been in possession of the manors in question, the See being then vacant. The Earl was, no doubt, in his right, but the King had him at a disadvantage, and his object was certainly for the good of the realm, so the Earl had to give way, and did so in October 1290; but to make the cession more palatable a special grant, 2nd November 1292 (Ryley says October 1290), of the privileges for their joint and several lives was made to the Earl and Countess Joan, with remainder to the King and his heirs for ever. This case was cited in 1293 against John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, who claimed the custody of the temporalities of St. Asaph. Of de Clare and the other lords, it was said, "Nichil clamare poterunt, propter privilegium regium, et corone dignitatem, ad quam specialiter pertinet Episcopatuum vacantium custodia." Warrenne was non-suited. The whole transaction well exemplifies the mixture of firmness and moderation with

which the great King carried out measures that affected the unity of his kingdom.

5th July 1291, Richard de Tonsmere, chaplain, was instituted to the Church of High Anvolle (Highlight), on the presentation of David de Someri, its lord, by the archbishop, the See being vacant. 3rd September 1294, John Gordon was custos of the temporalities of Llandaff, and the Abbot of Margam collector of the current subsidy. The dispute between the King and the Earl will account for the uncertainty as to the occupancy of the See between 1287 and 1296, when John de Monmouth was appointed, but the King had to interfere to force the Earl to give him seizin. On another occasion, 1291-2, the Earl seems to have taken the law into his own hands, in the case of a trespass committed by the Earl of Norfolk upon his tenants of Usk and Trilleck. Arbitrators were named who were to inspect the inquisitions as to the possessions of William Earl Mareschal, from whom the manors were derived. About the same time the Malvern dispute was reopened. The Earl and Countess threw up an earthen bank along the crest of the ridge, to which Giffard Bishop of Worcester objected as an encroachment. This was settled by an agreement signed at Tewkesbury, October 1291, by which the Bishop, or in his absence the Prior and Chapter of Worcester, were to have annually from the Earl two fat bucks and two fat does.

The King's determination to put an end to the privileges of the Marcher Lords, no doubt led others to contest them. Thus, the Prior of Goldcliff summoned the Earl to appear at his court at Newport to answer for trespass. The Earl neglected to appear, and stated that the King knew how he was engaged at the date of the first summons, and that as to the second, he knew not whether he had received it or not; but, when pressed, he claimed time, on the plea that his wardrobe, no doubt containing, or supposed to contain, records of his chancery, was in the parts of Wales.

In 1294, notwithstanding the general subjugation of

the Principality, the local troubles were considerable, especially in South Wales, where they were fomented by Conan ap Meredith and Maelgon ap Rhys. In the spring of 1295 was a general rising, when a certain Madoc, from the recesses of Snowdon, descended upon and burned Caernarvon, while another Madoc overran Pembroke and Caermarthen, and Morgan of Avan seems at one time to have gained complete mastery in Glamorgan. De Clare, never quite equal to a great emergency, was probably disabled by disease. In any case, Edward would probably have himself taken the lead; as it was, he acted with his usual vigour. In November 1294, he was at Aberconway, where he seems to have stayed till 1st April 1295, when he had 140 war ships in the Menai Straits. He was next in Anglesea and, 7th May, at Bangor. On the 11th and 12th he was at Cymmer Abbey, by Dolgellau, and, on the 14th and 15th, on the moated mound of Talybont, just above Towyn. On the 17th he was at Llanpadarn Vawr; between the 20th and 23rd, at Aberystwith; and on the 29th, at Llandewi-brevi,—moving, therefore, with immense rapidity, and with a considerable force, "amazement in his van, with flight combined", though unaccompanied by any of the severities of war, for the terror of his name seemed to have reduced the rebels to order. On the 2nd and 3rd of June he was at Cardigan; on the 6th at Drysllwyn Castle, whence he marched to Merthyr in Morganwg (Merthyr Tydvil), between the 12th and 15th, and whence, no doubt, he visited Morlais. Thence, having quieted the Principality, he returned northwards to Brecknock, 16th of June, and was at Builth 17th, Clun 19th, Welshpool 22nd, Whitchurch 24th, and on the 1st of July he was again at Aberconway, whence, soon after, he moved to London. His transit across the Principality, rapid as it was, had the best effect, "Rex", says the continuator of Florence, "Rex penetravit totam Walliam juxta castrum de Morlais. Omnes Wallenses de dominio comitis Gloucestriæ rex suscepit ad pacem suam, contra volunta-

tem dicti Comitis. Et rex dedit eis custodem, videlicet, Dominum Walterum Hacklut." In the *Eulogium Historiarum* the King's movement is more briefly noticed. "Rex de Snowdoun per Walliam progrediens, occidentalem intravit Glanmorgan." The Earl must indeed have seen that his Marcher kingdom was at an end, and that, too, just when he had attained the highest object of a subject's ambition—a marriage with a daughter of the sovereign. At the close of this memorable year, 7th December 1295, 24th Edward I, he died, in the Castle of Monmouth, aged fifty-two years, and having held the earldom thirty-three years. On the 22nd of the month he was laid at Tewkesbury, on the left hand of his father. Richard de Talbot was appointed Governor of the Castle and town of Cardiff. (Abb. pl. v, 1, 100, 25 Ed. 1.)

By Alice de la March he had a daughter, Isabel, born 10th March 1261. She married Maurice Lord Berkeley, 1304-5. She seems to have been granted the custody of certain lands held by the King by reason of the nonage of Gilbert, son and heir of Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, etc. In 1314, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore admitted a debt due to her of 300 marcs. She also held lands contingent on her stepmother's death; for in 1315 Ralph de Monthermer, Countess Joan's husband, did service for certain lands which afterwards devolved on Isabella. Also in 1327-8, being Berkeley's widow, she petitioned, stating that her brother, Earl Gilbert, had granted her the manors of Shipton and Barford, for the restitution of which she prayed. She was to show her charters. Berkeley had been justiciary in South Wales, and custos of the castles there. Isabel seems to have died childless, 1338.

By his second wife, Joan of Acre, the Earl had a son, Gilbert, born 1291, and three daughters, Eleanor, or Alianor, Elizabeth and Margaret, afterwards coheiresses of the estate, to the exclusion of their half-sister Isabel, who was, no doubt, ousted by the surrender and settlement of the estates, and by the rule against the inheriting by the half blood.

The Earl's executors were Thomas, Abbot of Tewkesbury, Robert le Veal of co. Somerset, Simon de Heyham, Adam de Blechingley, and William de Hameldon; and to them, on the Earl's death, at Countess Joan's request, the King pardoned 10,000 marcs due to the Exchequer. It appears that the whole debt was £7284 5*s.* 7½*d.*, against which was a set-off of £2262 12*s.* 3*d.* Joan did homage on her accession, 18th January 1296. Her keeper of the wardrobe was John de Bruges, parson of Heghtred.

Among the allowances for the year is £79 6*s.* for the transport of fifty South Welsh hostages from Bristol to Salisbury Castle. Thirteen others were sent to Newcastle, and sixty to Bamburgh. Three prisoners taken by Roger de Knovil were pardoned for £40.

Joan married secretly and speedily in 1296 Ralph de Monthermer, a simple esquire, upon whom she seems previously to have induced the King to confer knighthood. The precise date of the marriage is not preserved; but 16th March 1297, it was unknown, for Edward assented to a proposal for marrying Joan to Amadæus, Earl of Savoy. When the marriage was discovered, Edward was furious. He imprisoned Monthermer, and seized all his daughter's lands. 15th March 1297, Marc de Harley had her in custody, and was to provide her with reasonable sustenance. Edward's paternal love must have been strong, for before long, at the intercession of Bishop Bec, he gave way. Her answer to her father's remonstrances is said to have pleased him. "It is not," said she, "considered an ignominy for a powerful Earl to marry 'pauperculam mulierem et tenuem'; neither therefore is it reprehensible in a Countess 'Juvenem strenuum promovere.'" Joan was allowed to reside quietly at Marlborough, and after a short time the marriage was recognized; and 26th Edward I, 1297-8, Monthermer had livery of the estates, and was summoned as Earl of Gloucester and Hertford by the tenure of fifty knight's fees. He proved a gallant soldier, rose high

in the King's favour, and after some delay seems to have been allowed to administer the lordship of Glamorgan till the majority of the young Earl.

Meantime the King, administering as guardian, had issued writs to Morgan the son of Meredith, and David le Grant, to levy and send forward Welsh troops to Gascony; and another writ with Morgan couples Henry de Penbruge. 9th May 1297, the custos was to hear the plaints, according to the local custom, of Simon de Ralege and Joanna his wife, and James de Bonneville and Amabilia his wife. These probably related to Wrenchester, the Ralegh estate in Glamorgan. 3rd July 1297, writs were issued to postpone a payment of 100 marcs, which the men of Tyriarth (Tir-y jarll) had been fined, with Countess Joan, to be secured in their ancient customs, and of a similar payment of 500 marcs from the men of Miscin and Glynrothny, and 100 marcs from the commonalty of Senghennith; and 15th July, Walter de Hacklut, Custos, was ordered to complete the gate of the Castle of Llantrissant, which he had begun. 18th July, at the prayer of the Archbishop, the King restored to the Bishop of Llandaff his lands which had been held by the Barons of the Exchequer; also the Countess Joan, in the exercise of her rights, sold the wardship of John le Sor for ten years to Lovetot, who sold it to a Sienna merchant for 260½ marcs. Le Sor was a Glamorgan landholder.

In 1301, Tonbridge Castle was restored to the Earl and Countess, with estates in Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and the Isle of Portland. In Marc de Harley's accounts for the Honour of Tonbridge is a charge for "vadia" for a Welsh hostage there kept. The royal accounts extend from 2nd May 1298, to 16th November 1301, when the restoration took place. In 1301, Monthermer signed the barons' letter to Pope Boniface the VIII, as "R. de Monthermer Com. Gloucestriæ et Hertfordiæ." The Archbishop wrote to him about restoring the goods of Earl Gilbert to his ex-

ecutors, and cites Robert de St. Fagan, treasurer of the church of Llandaff, to reply concerning them. This was Robert le Veal who was Lord of St. Fagan's. In 1304-5, a subsidy was levied upon Wales for the war. North Wales paid £1,333 6*s.* 8*d.*; West Wales, £833 6*s.* 8*d.*; Flint, £333 6*s.* 8*d.*; Powys, £216 13*s.* 4*d.*; Builth, £50; Montgomery, £40; total, £2,806 13*s.* 4*d.*

26th July 1306, Prince Edward writes to Joan from Lambeth, thanking her for her goods and her seal, which latter he returns by his clerk. He assures her that the King is not so harsh to him as she has been told. 1304-5, Earl Ralph appointed Richard de Rochelle to be his sheriff for Glamorgan. In 1306, the year of Bruce's coronation at Scone, he received from Edward the lands of Athol, Strathbolgi, and Strathern. He was then styled Earl of Gloucester and Huntingdon. 26th February 1307, in the year of Edward's death, the Earl was one of the four Lords sworn to enforce the order for the banishment of Gaveston. Countess Joan died in March in that year, when her father was engaged in his last campaign. The news reached him at Carlisle. He issued two mandates: one, 1st April, commending her to God, and directing prayer to be made for her soul, and another, 9th May, announcing her death "non sine cordis amaritudine", and directing Mass to be said. He himself followed her on the 7th July. Soon afterwards, on the coming of age of his step-son, Ralph laid aside the title of Gloucester and Hertford, and afterwards took rank as a Baron only. Between Joan's death and his own, Edward, by writ of Privy Seal, 14th June, formally acquitted Ralph de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester, all debts which he and his late wife Joan owed to him, and, from Carlisle, 14th November 1307, ordered letters of release under the great seal.

Monthermer lived on into the reign of Edward II, and survived the young earl. He was taken at Bannockburn, but released, and married to his second wife,

Isabel, sister of Aymer of Valence and widow of John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, also a great heiress and allied to royalty. Both his wives were great heiresses, but both had sons by previous husbands, so that neither he nor his children inherited from them. By Joan he had two sons, but his eventual heiress was a daughter who married John de Montacute, since which all succeeding Montacutes and, on questionable authority, the Montagues, have quartered the arms of Monthermer.

Countess Joan gave lands at Caversham for her soul's weal and that of Earl Gilbert, and was buried in the church of the Augustins at Clare. Her brother, Edward II, and many magnates, attended her funeral. Neither Monthermer nor his countess seem to have taken much interest in Glamorgan matters; in 1316, however, he held the wardship of Peter le Veele, a Glamorgan landowner, at that time a minor.

GILBERT de Clare, 8th Earl of Gloucester, and 8th of Hereford, and 10th Earl of Clare, was born in 1291, and was thus about four years old at his father's death in 1295, and seventeen at that of his mother in 1307. He seems to have been on good terms with his cousin, Edward II, in their youth, for in a letter to his father in 1305, the prince asked to be allowed to have Gilbert de Clare and Perot de Gaveston as companions. In 1306, while under age and a ward to the King his grandfather, the Earl appeared before the Court at Westminster, and claimed to be allowed certain tenements, liberties, advowsons of churches, etc., which his father had possessed in the city of London, holden by socage tenure, and which did not pass into the King's wardship, but by the custom of the city could be claimed when the heir was of an age to manage them and himself; until when they were to be in the charge of his next friend. The claim was admitted and livery was granted, he being then eighteen years old, "et habet sensum, racionem, et intellectum ad regendum se et sua." This was extended, 26th November 1307, to all his possessions throughout England held in socage

or fee farm, and indeed the entry on the Close Roll looks as though the King admitted him at once to all his possessions. His mother's death and the accession of Edward nearly coincide with his assumption of his titles and the enjoyment of his estates.

One of Edward's first acts was to recal Gaveston, and to give him the earldom of Cornwall, and Margaret, one of Gloucester's sisters, for a wife. They were betrothed 29th October 1307, and the bridegroom had large gifts in money and jewels from the late King's treasury. The offence Gaveston gave to the nobles speedily led to his second banishment, decreed by letters patent, 8th of May, and which was actually enforced 25th of March 1308. The King, however, diverted the blow by sending him to Ireland as regent. On this occasion Gloucester seems to have remained neuter. In this year a writ was issued to the custos of Dene Forest to augment the bishopric of Llandaff, which "nimis exilis esse dinoscitur", by the gift of the Church of All Saints, Newland, promised by the late King. Also inquiry is to be made as to the claim of the neighbouring parsons to assarts in the forest. In July 1309, Gaveston returned, and on this occasion Earl Gilbert stood his friend and made his peace with the barons, though for a short time only. At this time the Abbot of Margam was about to attend a Cistercian chapter.

At the council of Westminster in March 1310, Gloucester was one of the four earls appointed to keep the peace. He also was one of the "ordainers" appointed by the King at that council, at the close of which Edward went to Scotland, leaving the Earl of Lincoln as regent, who, dying in February 1311, was succeeded, 4th March, by the Earl of Gloucester. Some of his acts in that capacity are cited in a petition to Parliament, 8th Edward II. In August the King again met his Parliament in London, and the ordainers gave in their report, four articles of which provided for the banishment of Gaveston, to which the King was forced

to yield. In February 1312, the King, violating his assent, recalled Gaveston; on which the barons rose, captured him at Scarborough castle—an event followed by his illegal but well deserved death, 19th June 1311.

The Earl's position from the first had been one of great difficulty. As nephew to, and an early friend of, the King he was naturally one of his chief supporters; but his tendencies, like those of his father and grandfather, were to oppose the abuse of the royal power, and, as far as possible, to moderate its excesses. He evidently, all along, disapproved of Gaveston's proceedings, and although on one occasion he took his part, and was relied upon by the offender, he showed no disposition to avenge his death, but joined his efforts to those of the Bishops to bring about a better understanding. It was at his request that the jewels taken with Gaveston were given up to the King. By some accounts, when pressed by the Earl of Leicester to interfere to save Gaveston, he declined, save only to change the manner of his death. Edward seems to have regarded him with distrust, and he is ordered not to attend Parliament "cum equis et armis, more debito", but to come as in the time of the late King. His exertions certainly contributed largely to stave off the civil war. 20th April 1312, he had a safe-conduct, with his horses and arms, to pass through London to Eltham.

23rd May 1313, Edward attended the coronation of the King of Navarre, leaving Gloucester to open Parliament as regent. He seems, at this time, to have had heavy unsettled accounts with the exchequer. In 1309-11, he had £1,000 for his expenses in Scotland, and 3,500 marcs were to be paid him from the first money received from wardships. He had also a grant of 5,000 marcs on the same account. In 1313-14, he went to France on a mission; and in June 1314, attended the King in Scotland, bringing 5,000 retainers at his own charge, and thus supported, he appeared with the king at Bannockburn, 24-30th June 1314.

The rivalry with his Welsh neighbour, de Bohun,

displayed itself on the battle-field. De Clare claimed the vanguard, the place of his ancestors, against de Bohun, who claimed it as High Constable. While the chiefs disputed, the Scots advanced, and de Clare, in his undisciplined valour, rode hard in advance of his men to draw the first blood. He became entangled in the ranks, was overthrown, and fighting valiantly, was slain. "There", says Walsingham, "charged that noble soldier, Gilbert Earl of Clare, avenging with his own hands upon the Scots the cruel death that awaited him." With him fell Giles de Argentine, who had advanced to his rescue. Gloucester is said to have owed his death to having charged without waiting for his surcoat of armorial bearings, so that the Scots were ignorant of his name; otherwise, the immense ransom that would have been paid for him would have saved his life. His body was given up without ransom and sent to the King at Berwick. It rested finally at Tewkesbury, on the left hand of that of his father.

Earl Gilbert was but twenty-three years old at his death in June 1314, and had survived his father nineteen years. By his wife Maud, who appears to have been a daughter of John, son of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, he had one son, John, who died just before his father, and was buried at Tewkesbury in the Lady chapel. With the Earl, therefore, ended the main line of the great house of Clare, Earls of Gloucester and Hereford. The Countess declared herself not only pregnant but quick with child, a statement which gave rise to some very curious legal proceedings between her and the husbands of the sisters and presumptive co-heirs; nor was it until 1317 that the dispute was settled and all hope of issue given up. The case was raised by Hugh le Despenser, husband of the the elder co-heir, who prayed for a division of the estates and tendered homage. On this the Countess pleaded pregnancy, and offered herself to a jury of matrons under a writ "de ventre inspiciendo", for which, however, Despenser did not move. The question of

law as to how long it would be proper to wait was one of extreme nicety, "novum et difficile", some holding that no child born eleven months after the reputed father's death could be really his. The King referred the matter, by a writ of privy seal, to the chancellor and two justices, who advised a reference to Parliament. It was, however, referred to certain doctors of the canon law, and finally came before Parliament in the quindene of Easter, 1317, when the statement of pregnancy was abandoned, and it was admitted that by the course of nature the Countess "non posset dici a predicto comite impregnata." The King then accepted the homage of the husbands, all the sisters being married.

Under the Close Roll of 8th Edward II, 1314-15, an assignation of dower was made to the Countess. Upon the Welsh lands she had £440 3*s.* 1½*d.*, and to make up one third of the issues of Great Marlow, Bucks, £64 12*s.* 0½*d.*; total, £504 15*s.* 2*d.* She had the castle, manor, and vill of Caerleon, the manors of Lyswini and Llevenyth, and lands in Edlegarn and Little Tintern, besides lands in Berks, Gloucester, Norfolk, Oxford, Suffolk, Surrey, and Wilts.

The returns of the King's escheator show who were reputed the heirs of the Earl, and what lands he held "in capite." The returns, being from many counties, were very numerous, but most stated that, saving the pregnancy of the widow, the heirs were the three sisters, then of full age. Some, however, include Isabel, the earl's half-sister, on which point it was decided, "et quia in aliquibus inquisitionibus continebatur, quod Isabella, prout soror et hæres præfati comitis simul cum prædictis Alianora et Margareta, consideratum fuit, etc. .... at inquirendum, etc." .... and the return further stated, "quod non fuit aliqua Isabella soror prædicti comitis que debuit succedere in aliqua parte dictæ hereditatis, sed quod præfata Alianora, Margareta, et Elizabetha fuerunt sorores, etc." ... Isabel was no doubt doubly excluded, by the surrender of the estate and its re-settlement, on the Earl's second marriage,

and as being related by the half blood only. The returns from Oxford, Berks, and Suffolk, give Eleanor, Margaret, and Isabel. Here, however, Isabel seems to be put for Elizabeth.

The Earl's executors, Richard de Rodney, Ithel de Caerwent, and Richard de Byflet, had a writ to give seizin to the heirs 15th June 1317. They had already, 5th July 1314, got possession of the personalty. On the Earl's death, the "sigillum deputatum" for the land of Glamorgan was placed in the King's hands, who gave it, 23rd July, 7th Edward II, to Ingelram de Berenger, custos of the land, who, 28th October 1314, came to the Exchequer and gave it up to the barons.

The actual partition was a tedious business, and "pendente lite" the estates remained in the King's hands, and certain "custodes" managed them. John Giffard of Brimmesfield, called "Le Rych", an active soldier much concerned in Welsh affairs, had charge of the castles of Glamorgan and Morgan. His father, also, John Giffard, had held St. Briavels, 47th Henry III, and Dynevor, 18th Edward I, and seems to have held Brunlais in right of his first wife, Maud Clifford. The younger John was custos of Drysllwyn, 2nd Edward II, and was taken at Borough Bridge, and executed 1322. Various details of administration were settled by the King. 7th August 1314, he granted to Geoffrey de Aylsham, the late Earl's confessor, the issues of the vacant See of Durham. 14th September 1314, Bartholomew de Badlesmere was in charge of Glamorgan, and all the officers of the lordship were to have the same fees as in the time of the Earl. Also he is to store the castles. The fees, it appears, were:—To the Sheriff 100 marcs yearly, two robes, and £6 for an additional horse; to the comptroller, £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, and 40*s.* for robes; to the constable of Cardiff Castle, £4 6*s.* 8*d.*, and £12 for robes; to the constable of Llantrissant Castle, £13 6*s.* 8*d.*; of Caerphilly, £40, and for robes, £5. The constable of the Tower of London is to receive and hold Morgan de Avene, who

will be delivered to him by William de Braose. Morgan was still in the Tower 13th July 1316, when there was some mention of his bails. 14th March 1315, Badlesmere was to appoint Llewelyn ap Griffith (ancestor of Lewis of Van and Green Meadow), to a baillie-wick, such as he held in the time of the late Earl, if he be fit for it. 15th March, the Welsh of Morganwg have petitioned the King that the hostages in custody with Badlesmere should be allowed such sustenance from the lands as they were accustomed to have from Earl Gilbert and his ancestors. The King asks how this was; and if the petition be well founded the practice is to be continued. At the same time, 14th March, Llewelyn ap Griffith states that the "Forcelettum de Blank Mouster", our tower of Whitchurch, is "in nullo (novo) edificatum", and that there is a mill there with profits attached to it. The King directs that Llewelyn is to have the "forcelettum", but that Badlesmere is to do with the mill as seems best. The "forcelettum" seems eventually to have reverted to the chief lord, but the land near it still is held by Llewelyn's descendant, Mr. Lewis. Llewelyn further pleads a promise from Earl Gilbert of 10 marcs rent, of which he has received two by gift in Egloswladus (Capel Gwladys). He also complains of having been unjustly harassed. In 1317, 15th May, Edward orders this to be set right, and the 8 marcs to be paid out of the issues of Glamorgan. John, Bishop of Llandaff, also puts in a claim for the tithe of grants of the "new land" in all the extra-parochial parts of Dene Forest, granted by the late King on account of the poverty of the See; and, because there is a question about the boundaries, Ralph de Monthermer, as custos of the Forest, is to see to the matter. In this 8th Edward II, eleven men of Tiriarth were remitted 50 marcs of their fine for rebellion, and those of Neath 200 marcs. They seem to have paid 50 marcs, 3rd Edward II, out of a fine of 200 marcs, and the men of Neath 200 marcs out of 500 marcs, through Badlesmere. To William de

Berkerolles is remitted 10 marcs, to John le Noreis £10, and to Robert de Greyndon £10. Also to Leysan de Avene was allowed 40 marcs if he could show that, as he said, he had expended so much of his own money when directed to defend Kenfig; also a similar payment of 50 marcs to Payn de Turberville. The Abbot of Caerleon stated that Earl Gilbert had taken great part of his land under an exchange, but had not fulfilled the agreement. He had £10 on this account from the issues of Glamorgan. The Bishop was John of Monmouth, a member apparently of the baronial house of that name and place. He was an active person in Welsh affairs, and ever on the side of order. In 1310 he was one of the fifteen Lords Ordainers; and, in 1311-14, he and his chapter advanced 100 marcs to the King; and, in 1320, he was the agent for enforcing a loan from the knights Hospitallers in his diocese. In the following year he appears as pronouncing ecclesiastical censures against those who spoke evil of the King. In 1322 he was called upon to give an opinion upon the exile of the Despensers, having been absent from the council in which the judgment was declared illegal. Soon afterwards he employs the spiritual arm and offered up prayers for the King's success, which, however, he enforced by the temporal arm, by furnishing men-at-arms. He is, however, getting old, and on this plea excuses himself from attending the Parliament at York; and in 1323 he died.

A mild and just policy marks all the King's decisions in these local matters. The men of Senghenydd complained that the housebote and heybote they had under the Earl were taken away by Badlesmere, who had sold the "bosc". In this, also, they were to have satisfaction. 1st December 1315, Turberville is to be custos of Glamorgan, with charge of the castles, and to take fealty from all who held of the lordship, whether in Glamorgan or Pembroke. Robert de Greyndon, however, was made sheriff in the lands held by Gilbert de Clare of the King "in capite". He held office from the

death of Earl Gilbert to the Assumption of the Virgin, 10th Edward II, and had £10 for his expenses against the Welsh. The remissions had reference to the past rebellion, but there was still much local discontent, which in this year broke out in East Glamorgan under the leadership of Llewelyn Bren, a landowner on the left bank of the Taff, within the hill country. 9th February 1316, the sheriffs of Gloucester and Somerset, and John de Wysham, constable of St. Briavels, were to provide men and victuals for a force to put down the rising, and Stephen le Blund is to provide the money. 13th February, Humphrey de Bohun was to take the command. Peace was at once restored. 23rd March, Bohun was ordered to send Llewelyn Bren, his wife, and sons, Griffith and Gevan, to the Tower, where they still remained, 17th June 1317. Also, 26th March, Wm. de Montacute, Hy. de Pembrugge, and Robert de Grendon were to sit and take fines in Glamorgan for the breach of the laws. Bail was taken for Llewelina, wife of Llewelyn, for David, Meuric and Ruyn ap Llewelyn, Howel ap Ivor, Ywaun ap Ivor, Llewelyn ap Madoc, Madoc Vachan, Grono ap Res, and Res Miskyn, all, probably, relations or neighbours of Llewelyn Bren. John Giffard is to pay Greyndon's fees as sheriff. For services during the rising, the King gave to Rimus Bol of Sheghere, the land of Sheghere which Rimus Vaughan had held under the Earl. To Wm. Fleming was committed the custody of Llantrissant Castle, and the Forest of Miskyn as bailiff. Afterwards he fell under the King's displeasure, and was executed at Cardiff for treason. Also, Maurice de Berkeley was to be a justice of South Wales, with the custody of all the King's castles not given to others.

The King's lenient conduct was not appreciated; and ascribed, not unjustly, to his weakness. 20th September 1316, he informs the Bishop of Llandaff that he hears that many outlaws and other malefactors frequent the Church of Llandaff, and are there received and kept, going to and fro at their pleasure, and committing rob-

beries, etc., in those parts. The bishop is called upon to apply a remedy.

5th November. Letters patent inform the men of Glamorgan that John Walwayn and John Giffard were assigned to receive arrears of fines in those parts for the redemption of life and limb, upon their goods and chattels, under the awards of Wm. de Montacute and his fellows in the year preceding. Of the same date was a writ for the delivery of all the Welsh concerned in Llewelyn Bren's rising who had paid the fines awarded by Montacute, but the effect of the disturbance was long felt, and, as late as 1224-5, the Prior of Goldcliff was in arrear with his tithe on account of Llewelyn Bren's excesses. The Close Roll of 5th February 1316 states that Ralph de Monthermer and Joan, his wife, the King's sister, by charter, at the request of Edward I, granted to Morgan ap Meredith all his land of Edlegarn for life, for £15 yearly, and he was to pay for the remaining lands above that value; but Morgan now states that when Earl Gilbert took seizin he removed him from Edlegarn, and in its place gave him Cogan-more hamlet for life, worth not above £10, as the recent inquisition shows, on which Morgan prays that in consideration for his services, past and future, he may be allowed 100*s*. in land. To this the King consented, and ordered Turberville to see to it.

The three sisters, in behalf of whom "divisus est comitatus nobilissimus in tres baronias", were all married, and their husbands continued to press for the division of the spoil. They were:—1, Alianor, aged twenty-two in 1314; married in 1312 Hugh le Despenser, and on his death, William Lord Zouch of Mortimer. 2, Margaret, aged twenty-one in 1314; married, first, Piers Gaveston, and afterwards Hugh D'Audley, the younger. 3, Elizabeth, married, first, John, son and heir of John de Burgh, Earl of Ulster; next, Theobald Verdon, and, finally, Roger d'Amory.

As, in the partition, the lordship of Glamorgan, the Castles of Cardiff and Caerphilly, and the patronage

of Tewkesbury, fell to the elder sister, her descendants by Despenser were regarded as continuing the line of de Clare, so far as regarded Glamorgan, and their history alone belongs to the history of that county.

Gaveston, the husband of Margaret de Clare, was a Gascon knight, brought up with young Edward, until the King, seeing his excessive and mischievous influence over the Prince, removed him, February 1307, just before his death, and banished him from England. Edward, become King, at once recalled him, and, 29th October 1307, betrothed him to Margaret de Clare, to whom, immediately afterwards, he was married, at Berkhamstead, an appanage of the Earldom of Cornwall just granted, 6th August, to Gaveston. The new Earl's follies and arrogance, and his alternate prosperity and adversity, belong to the history of the reign. He was beheaded 19th June 1312, and the long list of his possessions occupies five pages in the *Fœdera*. Edward buried him with great ceremony at Langley, and himself placed two palls of cloth of gold upon his tomb. By Margaret he left a daughter, Joan, whom he had proposed to betroth to Thomas, son and heir of John, Lord Wake. Wake, however, married elsewhere without the King's licence, for which he was fined heavily. Joan was then betrothed by the King to John, son of Thomas de Multon, Lord of Egremont, both then very young. Edward promised her £1,000 portion, and she was to have a jointure of 400 marcs per annum. The £1,000 was paid as a fine by Wake to Multon, 11th Edward II. Joan probably died early, for she is not again mentioned, and Multon married another lady, 14th Edward II.

Hugh de Audley, whom Margaret next married, was son of Hugh, a cadet of the Barons Audley, of Heleigh Castle. She was then styled widow of Piers Gaveston, and having become a coheiress, she had by partition, 11th Edward II, the castle and tower of Newport, the manors of Stowe, Rempney, Dyneley, and Maghay, the hamlet of Frenebothe (Ebbw), and the commote

of Wentloog. Thornbury also came to her, and Tonbridge Castle, and much English property. Thus the Monmouthshire portion of the lordship was cut off from the Glamorgan part. 15th Edward II, Audley was in arms for Thomas of Lancaster, and was taken at Boroughbridge, but pardoned owing to his wife's interest.

20th Edward II. Maria, widow of William de Brewose held in dower one-third of the manor of Buckingham and of the hamlet of Burton (?), parcel of it, of the heritage of John de Brewose, all which, together with two parts of the said manor and hamlet are held of Hugh de Audley and Margaret his wife, of the heritage, etc., and John is of full age. This was no doubt a part of the old Giffard estate, inherited by the de Clares.

7th Edward III. Audley was fighting against William la Zouch of Mortimer. He served in Scotland, and, 23rd April 1337, was created Earl of Gloucester by patent to him and his heirs. He was allowed a grant out of the issues of the earldom instead of the usual third penny. As Earl of Gloucester he was much employed by Edward III in war, and held a command at Vironfosse. 14th Edward III, he was in the sea fight at Sluys. 16th Edward III, he went into Brittany with a retinue of 100 men-at-arms, a banneret, 20 knights, 78 esquires, and 100 mounted archers; a princely retinue. 17th Edward III, he was in Scotland.

Audley died 1347, leaving by Margaret one daughter, Margaret, aged thirty years. She married Ralph, Lord Stafford, and carried to that family Thornbury and large estates in Monmouthshire and elsewhere, which descended to the Dukes of Buckingham of the name of Stafford.

Notwithstanding the terms of the patent, the earldom was dropped on Audley's death, nor was it again revived in his descendants.

Elizabeth de Clare, the third sister, was much the

greatest lady of the three. To her was adjudged the Honour of Clare, with lands in Dorset and Monmouth. She married, 1, John de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, who died 1313; and by him was mother of John de Burgh, born at Cardiff, on the morrow after Easter-day 1313, and baptised, 14 days later, by the Bishop of Llandaff, in the presence of the King. He died young. The Countess also had William, Earl of Ulster, whose daughter and heir, Elizabeth, living 1355, married Lionel, 3rd son of Edward III, in whose person were revived his wife's honours, he being created Earl of Ulster and Duke of Clare or Clarence. Their daughter Philippa married Edmund, Earl of March, and through her the House of York derived its claim to the throne.

Elizabeth married secondly, at Bristol, 3rd February 1315, Theobald de Verdon, otherwise Butler, as his second wife. The marriage seems to have been clandestine, and the lady by no means coy. De Verdon was charged before Parliament with having on the Wednesday after the 2nd February 1315, 18th Edward II, forcibly abducted Elizabeth, widow of John de Burgh, and the King's niece, from the castle of Bristol, where she was lodged in ward to the King, having been summoned thither from Ireland. His defence was that he never entered the castle, but that Elizabeth came forth a league from it to meet him, when they were married. He gave bail to meet the charge. De Verdon was of Newbold-Verdon and a baron, and had probably made the lady's acquaintance in Ireland, where he was justiciary. He did not long survive, dying 27th July 1316. He was buried at Crokesden, co. Stafford, leaving Elizabeth pregnant with a daughter, Isabel, born on St. Benedict's day following her father's death, and co-heir with her two half-sisters of the Verdon estates. She married Henry, Lord Ferrers of Groby, who did homage for her lands 5th Edward III, and died 15th September, 17th Edward III, by whom she had William, Lord Ferrers.

It appears that in her grants, Elizabeth the elder did not use the name of Verdon, but styled herself Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare.

On the death of Theobald de Verdon, Elizabeth married a third husband, Sir Roger d'Amory, baron of Amory in Ireland, to whom about that time, 10th Edward II, Edward granted Sandal in Yorkshire, and manors in Oxford and Surrey, and soon afterwards, in 1319, Nicholas de Verdon prayed to be admitted to the lands of his late brother Theobald. In d'Amory Elizabeth gained a husband who was able to protect her through most of the troubles of the latter part of the reign of Edward II. He had summons to Parliament in the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, of Edward II.

14th and 15th Edward II, he was Governor of the castles of Ewias-Lacy, Gloucester, and Bristol, and warden of Dene Forest. He also had Knaresborough Castle. He was, on the whole, opposed to the Earl of Lancaster, and acted with Badlesmere and Pembroke, binding himself in 1317 by a bond for £10,000 to do his best to lead the King to be governed by those Lords. In 1320, however, he joined the general body of the discontented, probably from dislike to the Despensers, and 8th December, 15th Edward II, 1321, a writ was issued for his arrest, which preceded his death but a few months, he dying at Tutbury 1322, when his body was given up to his widow, who buried him at Ware Priory.

Edward at first seized his lands for rebellion, but speedily relented, and the Close Roll, 2nd November 1322, directs that Elizabeth de Burgo is to have her lands in divers counties. Soon afterwards, however, 7th January 1323, it is declared that, whereas Elizabeth de Burgo, the widow of Roger d'Amory, knight, the King's niece, has receded from his presence without licence, her lands are to be seized.

By Roger d'Amory Elizabeth had one daughter, Isabel, who married John, Lord Bardolf, aged 17,

3rd Edward III, who made proof of age and had livery of his lands, 9th Edward III. The marriage took place, 10th Edward III. Bardolf was an active soldier and saw much service. He died 3rd August 1371. Besides two daughters, Isabel and Agnes, mentioned in their grandmother's will, they had William, father of Thomas, Lord Bardolf, who was returned, 1 H. IV, as cousin and heir of Sir Roger d'Amory. He also inherited lands from Elizabeth de Clare.

Elizabeth de Clare was the foundress of Clare Hall, Cambridge. She died 4th November 1360, leaving a will, dated 25th September 1355, of great length, and disposing of large personal property. It has been printed by Nichols in his *Royal Wills*. She therein styles herself, as before, Elizabeth de Burgh, Dame of Clare, and directs her body to be buried with the Nuns Minorites in Aldgate. She founded Masses for the weal of de Burgh, Verdon, and d'Amory, "Mes seignours"; and left legacies, among a host of persons, to Nichol. d'Amory her executor, and to John de Clare. "A ma sale apelle" Clare Hall she left £40 and some plate, the endowment being already completed. To the two Orders of Brothers at Cardiff she left £6, and she mentions her heritage in Clare, Dorset, and Monmouth. Her seals are well known to those curious in such matters, and have often been engraved. One, given in Montague's *Guide to the Study of Heraldry*, has a central roundel charged on an escutcheon with 3 cinquefoils for Bardolph, and round it, 8 roundels charged, 1 and 5 with a plain cross for de Burgh; 2 and 6, a castle for Castile; 3, barry undy a bendlet for d'Amory; 8, a lion rampart for Leon; and 7, three chevrons for Clare. Another seal has in the centre d'Amory, and on roundels placed about it, England, Clare, de Burgh, with a file of 3 points, and a fret for Verdon, while four intervening roundels carry Castile and Leon for her grandmother Eleanor of Castile.

And thus came to an end the great house of de Clare, and was closed the second great chapter in the

History of the Land of Morgan; the first being its condition under its native rulers, brought to an end by the conquest by Fitz-Hamon. Descending from Alianor de Clare, the elder co-heir, the Despensers continued the female line in Glamorgan through various vicissitudes, transmitting it finally to the Beauchamps, whence it merged in the Nevilles, whose heiress marrying Richard Plantagenet gave occasion to his becoming Duke of Gloucester; on whose death as Richard III at Bosworth, the lordship escheated to the Crown, and the independent Marchership came practically to an end.

During a part of the reign of John, and the whole of those most eventful periods in Welsh history, the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, and for much of that of Edward II, the de Clares were Lords of Glamorgan, and upon Glamorgan they mainly relied for their immense political power. Their wealth, indeed, they drew from their English estates, and especially from those comprising the Honours of Clare and of Gloucester; but it was the possession of the land of Morgan that enabled them to take a position often opposed to and always independent of their sovereign. The position, no doubt, had its sources of weakness as well as of strength; the sons of Morgan, brave in arms and unbridled in their zeal for liberty, were always ready to take advantage of a change of masters, of a minority, or of any weakness of purpose in the reigning Earl; but at other times, when the Lord was firm and moderately just, they were not indocile subjects, and followed him and served him faithfully in war. In another respect the history of Glamorgan, under the house of Clare, bears upon a very interesting section of the history of England. Under the early Norman sovereigns, the Lords of the Welsh Marches acquired powers utterly inconsistent with the good government of the whole kingdom; powers such as the great feudatories on the continent so long exercised to the serious detriment of the kingdoms of France and Germany. The Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, the

Lords de Braose, of Mortimer, Warren, and the Earls of Chester, under a weak and imprudent Prince, such as Henry III, threw the whole kingdom into disorder, and gave a refuge to those barons whose estates lay more at the mercy of the Crown. These powers the great Edward set himself to work to resume. His conquests were not merely nor mainly over the Welsh; but in reducing the Welsh to submission, he destroyed the main source of the power of the marcher Lords; and long before the close of his reign, he had so consolidated the Principality with England, that even the weakness and folly of his son were unable altogether to break it up.

LONDON:
WHITING AND CO., LIMITED, SARDINIA STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN-FIELDS.